

A Survey of Recent Studies
on
Modern Indian History

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Preface to the Third Edition

The new edition has been updated by the inclusion of the important dissertations published upto 1978. It is hoped that the scholars and research students will find the book even more useful now than in the past.

Author

Preface to the First Edition

I undertook this work at the suggestion of Mr. Chadbourne Gilpatric, Assistant Director, Rockefeller Foundation (Humanities). I am grateful to him and to the other authorities of the Rockefeller Foundation, New York, for the financial assistance and encouragement I received from them for the preparation of this Survey. I regret very much that I could not bring it out earlier, due to my various other pressing engagements.

I shall be immensely gratified if students of History feel interest in this humble work of mine.

Patna University,
Patna-5,
India.

K. K. Datta
12-2-1957

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A SURVEY OF RECENT STUDIES ON MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

Section I

Comprehensive and correct study of modern Indian history, in its manifold aspects, is a great need for proper understanding of the various forces that have influenced human society in different countries. Besides being subject for long to British rule, India has also come into intimate contact with the outside world in other ways and felt the impact of the various trends of civilisation that developed there. She has also exercised her own influence on the minds of the people of those countries. Role of India in the modern world, indeed, deserves careful and critical appreciation.

For the political and administrative aspects of our subject we have extensive literature. From the early days of Indo-British administration, bands of writers like Orme, Watts, Srafton, Bolts, Verelst, Shore, Prinsep, Wilks, Malcolm, Munro, Sleeman, Tod, Duff, Elphinstone, Martin, Cunningham and some others bequeathed to posterity a substantial store of historical information regarding India. The Stock was further enriched by the admirable historical works of Mill, Thornton, Auber, Ross, Marshman, Nolan, Broome, Keene, Kaye, Beveridge, Malleson and a few others. Among these who have in modern times written British Indian history as a whole or selected portions of it, the names of Sir G. W. Forrest, Sir John Strachey, Sir James Stephen, Mr. S. C. Hill, Sir Alfred Lyall, Mr. Ramsay Muir, Mr. Owen, Prof. P. E. Roberts, Prof. H. H. Dodwell, Prof. C. C. Davies, Prof. C. H. Philips, Sir H. Verney Lovett and Dr. T. G. P. Spear deserve special mention. While books like Prof. P. E. Roberts' '*India under Wellesley*', Prof. C. C. Davies' '*Warren Hastings and Oudh*', and Prof. C. H. Philips, *The East India Company* are examples of critical scholarship,

some other modern works could not be written on strictly impartial lines for this reason or that.

We are also profoundly indebted to some modern European scholars for their valuable contributions to the history of this period, made during their stay in India or after they had left it. Several years back, Prof. A. Martineau, Rev. W. K. Firminger, Prof. Rushbrook Williams, Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, Mr. Holden Furber and some others, actively interested themselves in writing some really useful books and articles. From time to time Col. H. Bullok and Major H. Hobbs have contributed some interesting and informative papers. Rev. H. Heras has ably pointed out the importance of Jesuit letters and accounts. Cavaleiro Pandurang Pissurlencar, and Mons. Alfred Lehuraux have rendered great service to Indian scholars by drawing their attention to the value of Portuguese and French records respectively.

To all this must be added the fruitful historical studies of modern Indian scholars, as a result of their patient investigations. Many of them have carried on their studies in a spirit of dedication in the midst of weighty handicaps. Several factors have helped them in this noble work of revealing correctly the past of their country for the knowledge and benefit of humanity. It has been very significantly observed by Lord Acton that the "knowledge of the past, the record of truths revealed by experience, is preeminently practical, is an instrument of action and a power that goes to the making of the future." Indeed, "through the proper study of history we can join the wisdom of Solomon to the counsel of Socrates by trying to get understanding and learning to know ourselves."

One of these factors has been the growing cultural renaissance in our country in the modern period creating in the minds of some of our illustrious Indian scholars a genuine urge to reveal and understand properly the past and contemporary history of this great land. There is no doubt that pioneer studies in this respect began to be made by bands of

western scholars from the closing years of the eighteenth century, particularly after the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, and these were followed subsequently by some others of foreign nationalities. From the days of Rammohan Roy began a creative period in the annals of Indian culture. In spite of foreign domination throughout the nineteenth century and later on, the studies of a galaxy of Indian scholars have produced marvellous results in unfolding our past and in assessing the conditions of the modern age. The spirit of renaissance was kept alive also by the great apostles of awakened India like Rammohan, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Rabindranath, Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi. "Out of the past," remarked Swami Vivekananda significantly, "is built the future. Look back, therefore, as far as you can, drink deep of the eternal fountains that are behind and after that, look forward, march forward and make India mightier, greater, much higher than she ever was. Out of consciousness of past greatness, we must build an India greater than she has been."

Indian intellect has been also stimulated through contact with the dynamic forces of the new western world. Besides its valuable contributions in other branches of knowledge, this intellect has produced brilliant results in the field of historical studies of specialised nature, based on original found in libraries and archives or discovered with great pains and industry from hidden corners.

Growing progress in such historical studies relating to modern Indian history has been helped by the efforts of some institutions to collect and preserve original records for the use of scholars. The work of the Indian Historical Records Commission in discovering, collecting, cataloguing and editing records of historical importance to make them available to students of history is of inestimable value. The Regional Records Survey Committees and the Archives set up in some of the Indian States are also affording considerable facilities. Yet, what has been achieved is but touching the fringe. Much remains to be accomplished to facilitate the march of

the science of History and to interpret the proper position and role of new India in the modern world. I cannot help recalling Tennyson's words :

“Yet experience is an arch-where thro’
Gleams that untravelled world, whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move.”

We can, however, note with optimism the persistent and progressive efforts made in our country to proceed forward in quest of the “untravelled world.” So far as Modern Indian History is concerned, the march of the leaders of sound historical thought in our country, namely, the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, whose genius unfolded itself in menifold petals, the late Sri V. K. Rajwade, the late Rao Bahadur Parasinis, the late Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, the late Dr. G. S. Sardesai, the late Dr. S. N. Sen, the late Sir Shaafat Ahmad Khan, the late Diwan Bahadur Dr. Krishnsawami Aiyangar, the late Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari is being reinforced by a number of conscientious workers with great zeal and industry.

A review of the important works of modern Indian writers relating to the history of India from the eighteenth century may be attempted in different aspects,—Political, Administrative, Economic, Social and Cultural.

Section II

POLITICAL

We may start with a brief note on the admirable volumes of India's greatest historian, the late Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, on the '*Fall of the Mughal Empire*'. Value of this work based on a comprehensive and critical study of all kinds of original sources, many of which had not been previously utilised by others, can hardly be overestimated. With profuse details the master historian has described in a superb style the decline of the Mughal Empire, as Gibbon did with regard to the Roman Empire. These volumes form a storehouse of information regarding the eighteenth century, which forms, for various reasons, a tragic period in the history of our country. In the *Foreword* to volume one (covering the period from 1739 to 1754) of this monumental work, Dr. Jadunath writes in a reflective style : "And yet our immediate historic past, while it resembles a tragedy in its course, is no less potent than a true tragedy to purge the soul by exciting pity and horror. Nor is it wanting in the deepest instruction for the present. The headlong decay of the age-old Muslim rule in India and the utter failure of the last Hindu attempt at empire-building by the new-sprung Marathas, are intimately linked together, and must be studied with accuracy of details as to facts and penetrating analysis as to causes if we wish to find out the true solutions of the problems of modern India and avoid the pitfalls of the past."

The third volume "carries the story of the Delhi monarchy from the entrance of Shah Alam II into his capital in 1772, through seventeen years of his rule, to the bloody tragedy of 1788 which turned the Mughal monarch into a mere shadow and transferred his Government to a perpetual vicar, till another and still bloodier tragedy came seventy years later which struck out the very name of his dynasty from the pages of Time." The period from 1789 to 1803, crowded with events of far-reaching importance, has been covered in the

fourth volume of this work. In its last chapter we get a brilliant analysis of the causes of the fall of the Mughal Empire. Our great historian significantly observes : "The Hindustan fell because of the rottenness at the core of Indian society. This rottenness showed itself in the form of military and political helplessness. The country could not defend itself ; royalty was hopelessly depraved or imbecile ; the nobles were selfish and short-sighted ; corruption, inefficiency and treachery disgraced all branches of the public service. In the midst of this decay and confusion, our literature, art and even true religion had perished."

For the history of the Marathas in the eigtheenth century and early nineteenth century we have the valuable works of another veteran historian, Dr. G. S. Sardesai. His book on '*Main Currents of Maratha History*', which contains his Readership lectures delivered some years back at the Patna University, has been followed by a detailed history of the Marathas in three volumes which throw new light on Maratha history. His selections from the *Peshwas' Daftar* (complete in 45 volumes) brought to light precious source materials as also the *Poona Residency Correspondence* series compiled under the guidance of Dr. Jadunath Sarkar and this writer in co-operation with some others. *Aitihasik Tipne* by Shri D. B. Parasnus (*in Itihas Sangraha*), *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchin Raj-Karanen* edited by Shri D. B. Parasnus (Vols. 1 and 2 and Supplement, 1913-14), *Aitihasik Patren Yadi Wagaire Lekh* edited by Dr. G. S. Sardesai and some others, *Holkaranchi Kaifiyat* edited by Sri K. N. Sane, *Marathi Riyasat* edited by Dr. G. S. Sardesai (eight volumes), the *Purandare Daftar* in three volumes, the *Holkar Shahichya Itihasachi Sadhanen* edited by Shri B. B. Thakur in two volumes, the *Kota Daftar* of Sardar Gulgue, *Aitihasik Patra Vyavahar* by Dr. G. S. Sardesai and others and *Hingane Daftar* edited by Shri G. H. Khare, are full of valuable historical information. *Historical Genealogies*, compiled by the veteran historian Dr. G. S. Sardesai was published by the Bombay Government Central Press in 1957. It is a valuable work of reference in

Marathi, containing information about many families and individuals, who influenced the history of India from the seventeenth century onwards. Another important publication of this Press in the same year was *Selections from the Peshwa Daftari* : New Series, edited by Dr. P. M. Joshi, for some time Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Government of Bombay. It is a supplement to the forty-five volumes of *Selections from the Peshwa Daftari*, which were edited by Dr. G. S. Sardesai and published by the Bombay Government between 1929 and 1934. The learned works of Dr. S. N. Sen on *Maratha Administration*, *Military System of the Marathas* and *Maratha Navy*, besides his other studies on the Marathas, have unfolded new chapters of Maratha history. We have also to our benefit a highly useful volume of Dr. H. N. Sinha on the first three Peshwas, Dr. A. C. Banerjee's learned monograph on the conspicuous Maratha statesman Madhava Rao I, and Dr. P. C. Gupta's critical studies on the Peshwa Baji Rao II, but for a thorough knowledge of whose character, policies and movements, one cannot have a proper idea of the final collapse of Maratha imperialism. Dr. P. C. Gupta has also written a critical monograph on the *Commissioners at Bithur*.

A valuable collection of Maratha despatches and newsletters relating to the Sindhias was printed several years back by the Gwalior Government with the scholarly assistance of Dr. G. S. Sardesai, and a second work from the same source was published by the Satara Historical Society. Dr. Sardesai further brought out improved editions of two collections of Marathi historical letters, originally published by Sane and Parasnus and long out of print. Mention must also be made of the publication of two other collections of Marathi records—the *Letters of the Amatya House of Bavda*, continuation of Shri V. V. Khare's *Lekh-Sangraha* and carrying the reports to a period beyond the battle of Assaye and a second volume of the letters of the Chandrachud Diwans of Indore. Among the English sources on Maratha history, discovered in recent years one important document is *Sir*

Charles Malet's Letter-Book, 1780-84, edited by Dr. Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau.

The Baroda Government financed the printing of two volumes of the early records of the Gaekwad family, edited by Father Gense and Mr. Banaji, and the Marathi records of this family have been published in some volumes.

Two volumes of Persian Records of Maratha History, translated into English with notes by the doyen of Indian historians, Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, were published some years back by the Director of Archives, Bombay. Volume one relates to Delhi Affairs, 1761-1788, and volume two to the Sindhia as Regent of Delhi, 1787 and 1789-91. We are grateful to the Government of Madhya Pradesh for publishing four volumes (Vol. I. 1799-1806, Vol. II. 1807-11, Vol. III. 1812-1817, IV. 1818-1840) of *Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records*, carefully edited by Dr. H. N. Sinha.

The Central Records Office, Hyderabad, Deccan, have brought out a series of source books for Maratha history. The third volume of the series which came out in 1956 under the caption, the *Poona Akhbars*, being edited by Shri R. M. Joshi, contains sixty documents relating to the period from 1st January, 1782 to the 5th July, 1794. These documents throw much light on the politics of the Poona Court and on the careers of the important Maratha statesmen of the time. According to the publication programme of the Indian Historical Records Commission the Nagpur University brought out in 1961 a highly useful volume on *Mountstuart Elphinstone's Correspondence with the Supreme Government in Calcutta and the other Agents of the British Government in India between 1804 and 1808* when this famous British administrator was the Resident at the Court of Raghuji Bhonsle II. Besides an introduction written by Dr. R. M. Sinha we get here documents relating to the administration of Raghuji Bhonsle II, the affairs of Cuttack and Sambalpur, relations between the English and the Bhonsles and the Pindari raids into Nagpur. In his work on *A Study in Maratha Diplomacy* (D. Litt. thesis of Agra University) Dr.

Shanti Prasad Varma, Professor of History and Political Science, Maharana Bhupal College, Udaipur (published in 1956), has reviewed Anglo-Maratha relations between 1772 and 1782.

Dr. Sailendra Nath Sen's book on *Anglo-Maratha Relations during the Administration of Warren Hastings, 1772-1782* (a D. Phil. thesis of the Calcutta University) was published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay of Calcutta in 1961. It is a carefully written work based mostly on contemporary unpublished records in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, Bombay Record Office, the British Museum and the old India Office (now Commonwealth Relations Office) Library.

Good many articles regarding the Marathas from the troubled years of the eighteenth century till the final collapse of Maratha power in 1818-1819 have appeared in the course of the last several years. Twenty-eight years back came out¹ Dr. Jadunath Sarkar's translation of Kasiraja Pandit's *Account of the Third Battle of Panipat and the events that followed it*. With personal experience of this battle, Kasiraja wrote his account in 1780 "from memory" as he says. As Dr. Jadunath points out, some contemporary Marathi letters, published in modern times, prove him to be very accurate except for a few inaccuracies which, however, can be corrected. There is another translation of Kasiraja's account by Col. James Browne, who undertook the work in 1791. This was defective in certain respects. Dr. Jadunath's translation is more authoritative, complete and accurate,

In 1939, Dr. S. N. Sen contributed a learned paper on the settlement of the Peshwa's territories by bringing to light a unique state paper, that is, a despatch of 18th June, 1818, which had not been included in the editions of *Elphinstone's Report on the Peshwa's Territories*. The "annexation of the Peshwa's territories," he points out, "was not followed by any serious outbreak. Here is verily a miracle that demands

1. Indian Historical Quarterly, 1934.

explanation. The credit of this marvellous achievement must go to Mountstuart Elphinstone¹ for his wise statesmanship in effecting a careful settlement of the Peshwa's territories. "Elphinstone knew," remarks Dr. Sen significantly, "that patience and forbearance pay even in politics, that conciliation is a potent sedative while force frustrates its own purpose, that toleration even of prejudices paves the way of reform far more surely than intolerance and that real statesmanship avoids unnecessary haste, repression, and intolerance takes a long view of things."¹

In an article on Trimbakji Danglia², Dr. P. C. Gupta has described his arrest by Captain Swanson with a party of Poona Auxiliary Horse on the 29th June, 1818. Because of some plots to release Trimbakji, the British Government did not consider it safe for them to keep him in Maratha country and subsequently removed him to Chunar, where Bishop Heber met him in 1824. Dr. H. N. Sinha then (Professor, Jabalpur University) brought to our notice an account of the capture and surrender of Gheria from a letter of Admiral Watson to the Council of Bombay, dated 14th February, 1756³. In a study of some original Marathi documents by Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, we get one memorandum, probably of the 24th March, 1772, containing some points about the administration of the Peshwas.⁴

Studying the English version⁵ of a statement prepared by the ministerial party of Poona at the request of Colonel Upton in January, 1776, Dr. A. C. Banerjee then of Calcutta University pointed out that its importance lay in the light it threw on some important episodes in Maratha history—the rebellion of Raghunath Rao in the reign of Peshwa Madhav Rao I, the tragic murder of Narayan Rao and the origin of the First Anglo-Maratha War. Dr. A. G. Pawar brought to

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1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.
 2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1942.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid, 1943.

light¹ an old Marathi poem², entitled *Parasuram Charitra*, written in Devanagari character. "*Parasuram Charitra* is not", observes this writer, "a mere eulogy as some poems relating to the Peshwas are. It is predominantly a historical piece and, though it is not free from such faults as are commonly seen in the poems of court-poets, it is rich in details, vivid in description and on the whole, reliable." From internal evidence in it the writer concludes that it was written in the early months of 1773. The relations of Daulat Rao Sindhia with the British, October 1804 to July 1805, were reviewed by Shri Shanti Swarup Gupta.³ Shortly afterwards appeared a paper on *The Battle of Sitabaldi* by Dr. H. N. Sinha and another on *Adoption under the Peshwa Baji Rao II* by Shri K. Sajan.⁴

An article⁵ on *Raja Alha Singh and the Marathas*, written by Sardar S. N. Banerjee, contains four letters which throw light in respect of the relations between Raja Alha Singh and the Marathas, when the latter carried on raids in the north in 1757-58 under their leaders Raghunath Rao and Malhar Rao Holkar. These letters were written during the first three weeks of March 1758. Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe wrote a paper on *Persian Correspondence of Vithal Mahadeo Kibe alias Tatya Jog of Indore* (with English translation) of some letters relating mostly to the period between 1818-1826 when Vithal Mahadeo as head of the administration in the Holkar's state was trying to organise it after a period, described by the statesman-historian Sir John Malcolm as the period of 'trouble.' Besides some complimentary epistles, we have in this series of correspondence some letters relating to law and administration.⁶ In a letter of 1751 from Govinda Tamaji,

1. Ibid.

2. It was found in the Marathi section of the Mackenzie collection which forms part of the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

3. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1948.

4. Ibid, 1945.

5. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1944.

6. Ibid.

the Maratha Agent at Jaipur, to Bapuji Mahadev Hingane¹, we get a graphic description of the situation arising out of Bakht Singh's occupation of Jodhpur as well as its effects on Madho Singh, the Raja of Jaipur.² This letter was found among the documents obtained by Shri G. H. Khare of Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mandal, Poona, from Shri Nilkanth-rao Pandurangrao alias Bhayya Sahib Hingane, Jagirdar of Chandori, District Nasik.³ Prof. S. V. Putambekar brought to our notice a letter written by Chimaji Appa to Mahadeo Bhat Hingane on 2nd June, 1740. Besides recapitulating the attitude and policy of Baji Rao I towards the Emperor and the Nizam, this letter contains Chimaji's estimate of the aims of Balaji I and Baji Rao I regarding the people's welfare and their religious objectives in Northern India.⁴ Colebrooke's observations about the state of affairs in the kingdom of Nagpur, April 1799, were studied by Prof. S. N. Banhatti (of Nagpur)⁵. Shri C. V. Joshi of Baroda⁶ has written a short note on Rani Gahinabai of Baroda, the most distinguished lady of the house of the Gaekwads of Baroda, who exercised salutary influence on the political and religious affairs of the kingdom, for which she enjoyed much respect during the time of her husband Maharaja Govindrao and also after his death in 1800. This note is based on contemporary observations of Alexander Walker and some Baroda records. Gahinabai died in 1834 and her ashes were sent to be immersed in the river at Prayag (modern Allahabad). Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe mentioned some letters⁷ relating to Jaswant Rao Holkar, 1804-10. Shri G. N. Sharma of

1. Ibid.

2. Events connected with this incident can be studied in Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol 1, pp. 319-20 and *Marwad Ka Itihas* (in Hindi), Vol. I, p. 365.

3. Shri Hingane belongs to the famous Hingane family, members of which acted as the Peshwa's Agents at Delhi in the eighteenth century.

4. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1945.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

Udaipur brought to our notice an inscription, dated 1816, on a plate found in the possession of the state astrologer Pandit Shyam Sunderji of Udaipur, which refers to Bapu Sindhia's invasion of Mewar¹. In 1946, some new records of historical importance relating to the Peshwas, roughly from 1731 to 1761, were discovered by Shri G. H. Khare.² From a study of some letters Shri T. S. Shejwalkar of Poona prepared in the same year a short note on *Haripant Phadke*, whom he considered to be 'the righthand man of Nana Phadnavis.³ At the same time Professor D. V. Gokhale of Poona wrote a paper on a letter⁴ of the year 1751 addressed by Damodar Mahadeo Hingane, the Maratha Agent with the Mughal Wazir Safdar Jang, to his brother Purushottam, who was with the Sardars (Sindhia and Holkar) at Mau Shamsabad, near Farrukhabad, and dealt with an agreement between the Sardars and the Wazir. Other articles⁵ about the Marathas, written in the same year, were on *A Glimpse of Indore—a century ago* by Prof. S. M. Dhar, *On letters from the Holkars to the Gaekwads from 1791* by Shri C. V. Joshi, and *Mahdaji Sindhia and Poona College* by Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe. On the basis of evidence found in the records of the family of Gangadhar Shastri, Sardar Kibe concluded that "the Gangadhar Shastri, whose lands or villages yield a revenue to the Agra college was quite a different person from the Gangadhar Shastri whose portrait now adorns the College Hall." Shortly afterwards appeared a critical study of some new details from Persian records of the Peshwa Daftar by Shri G. H. Khare, adding to our knowledge of the Maratha-Jaipur relations.⁶ Along with it we got an account of the ancestors of the Rani of Jhansi⁷ by Shri T. S. Shejwalkar,

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid, 1946
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, Twentyfourth Session, Jaipur.
7. Ibid.

which supplements, and in some places corrects, the information given by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnus in his life of the Rani of Jhansi written in Marathi in 1894. Struggle between the Barbhais and Raghunath Rao was described in an article by Shri V. S. Chitale (then Head Master, S. S. P. Military School, Poona). Shri V. S. Chitale also wrote another article on the motives and activities of Raghunath Rao during his stay at Nasik in 1764.¹ At the same time Dr. Y. K. Deshpande, a well known research worker of the then C. P. (Berar), discovered files of old Marathi newspapers, published in Poona and Bombay during the period between 1842 and 1846, in the manuscript collections of late Dajisahid Buti of Nagpur. These newspapers contain valuable information regarding political, economic, religious and social history of the period. Their files were deposited in the Library of *Saradashram Yeotmal*. Shri Upendra Nath Sarkar of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, gave an account of the *Estate of Hindu Rao in Delhi* on the authority of an unpublished correspondence recorded in the Governor-General's Consultations, Rev. B. 1842, preserved in the National Archives of India. Hindu Rao (Jai Singh Rao Ghatge) was brother of Baizi Bai, the favourite wife of Daulat Rao Sindhia. In 1949, Shri G. H. Khare brought to light a large number of Persian records from a Sardar Natu family of Poona, most of which belong to the Peshwa period. Three documents in particular were studied by him. The first of these was addressed to the Peshwa by the Director of the Dutch Company at Surat soliciting his good wishes towards the Dutch Company. The second was addressed to the Peshwa by Akheraj, ruler of Bhavanagar, requesting the Peshwa to maintain safety of the port of Ghogha from the English. The third was addressed to the Director of the French Company at Surat asking for the help of the French offered by them on certain conditions.² The same year Mr.

1. Ibid, 1948 (Delhi)

2. Ibid, 1949.

T. S. Shejwalkar writing a note on the *Jamav* Section of the *Peshwa Daftar* mentioned that materials for the study of the economic and social condition in the Peshwa's dominions and for estimating the population of those territories were available there.¹ Dr. K. K. Datta (then of Patna University) wrote a paper on the Marathas in Orissa from the days of Nawab Alivardi. Next year Dr. K. K. Datta contributed an article on Gangadhar Shastri² on the basis of some papers found by him in family of his descendants at village Karhari in the Aurangabad subdivision of Gaya district in Bihar. It was established in this paper that Gangadhar Shastri was an inhabitant of Bihar. He was born in the middle of the eighteenth century. He completed his Sanskritic studies at Nadia in Bengal and acquired considerable proficiency in astrology. His fame in this respect reached the Gwalior *darbar* through one Bhau Bakhshi and one Abha Chitnavis, the latter being an inhabitant of Gwalior then employed in the service of the Nawab of Daudnagar (Gaya district), and he was appointed there on a handsome remuneration of Rs. 5,000 a month. Daulat Rao Sindhia granted him seven villages in Eglas *Taluq* in Aligarh district as a reward for some propitious astrological performances by him to the interest of the Sindhia. On the death of Gangadhar Shastri, the Company's Government decided that one-fourth of the income from the property in Eglas *taluq* amounting to Rs. 2, 589 would go to his heirs and three-fourths amounting to Rs. 7,767 were to be utilised for "public and charitable purposes". The latter amount was afterwards "appropriated to the use of the College at Agra". Shri T. S. Shejwalkar contributed a paper pointing out in it the danger to Jhansi in 1774-75 from some north Indian powers. Shri G. H. Khare discovered that year volumes of records of the Rajaina family of Wai (North Satara) containing large number of daily, monthly and annual accounts and balance-sheets, agreements and bonds, news letters, orders, and returns of various types, decisions

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid, 1950

*in revenue, civil, criminal, religious and social cases, sanads and confirmatory letters and a variety of other documents.*¹ Just the next year Shri V. S. Chitale wrote a paper² on the relations between Madhav Rao and Janoji Bhonsle. Shri T. S. Shejwalkar brought to light and broadly described some documents connected with the Court of the Nagpur Bhonsles during 1774-1795. These were preserved in the Parasnis collection of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona.³ Shri G. C. Tambe wrote a paper on *The Regime of Vinayak Ganesh Chandorkar as the Deputy Governor of the Saugor Territory* (1795-1819) refuting here certain charges of maladministration levelled against Vinayak Rao.⁴ Shri S. N. Athavale of Kolhapur presented a scrutiny of the policy of Nana Phadnavis in the north Indian enterprises of the Marathas.⁵

In the Bhopal session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held in 1953, Shri R. M. Joshi of Central Records office, Hyderabad-Deccan, read an interesting paper on the *Rajendras of Gangakhed and Their Records*, which have come into the possession of the Hyderabad Central Records Office. The *Rajendras* rendered valuable services to the Asaf Jahi State. Reference has been made in this paper to Haibat Rao Gopal who came into lime-light in the time of Nizam Ali Khan (1761-1803). He was posted as *Akhbarnavis* at Purandar about May, 1774 and was entrusted by the Nizam with the delicate task of carrying on negotiations with Nana Phadnavis and other *Karbharis* at Poona. Raghottam Rao, Haribat Rao's son was the first to earn the title of *Rajendra*. Shri Upendra Nath Sarkar contributed at this time a paper, based on some records of the National Archives, New Delhi, showing in it the fruitless efforts of Shambhaji Angria to succeed to the *Gadi* of Kolaba since the

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid, 1951.
3. Ibid.
4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1951.
5. Ibid.

death in 1814 of his uncle Babu Rao Angria. The Kolaba state was annexed to the British territories in 1842. Next year Dr. G. S. Sardesai brought to the notice of students of history a large number of unpublished records lying with the Sardar Pandit family of Kotah and bearing on Maratha history during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The records are important not only for political history but also for the study of social and economic conditions.¹

In 1955 Shri V. G. Hatalkar of Bombay made an attempt to show, on the authority of some French documents, that the embassy of M. De St. Lubin to the Maratha court at Poona in 1777-78 was successful in its mission. An important original work on *Relations between the French and the Marathas* (1668-1815) by Dr. Hatalkar came out in 1958.

Some theses or dissertations on the Maratha affairs for the period under review, prepared during the last few years, are : *Mahadji Sindhia, Political Career in India*, 1730 to 1794, by Shri M. S. Agaskar (for Ph. D. Degree of Bombay University), *Anglo-Maratha relations*, 1772-1783, by Shri Shanti Prasad Varma (submitted for D. Litt. degree of Agra University), *Maratha expansion in the Carnatic* by K. Sulochana (Madras University), *Political, Social, Economic and Cultural History of Orissa during Maratha rule from, 1751-1803*, by Dr. Bhavani Charan Roy (Utkal University), *Nana Phadnavis and the External Affairs of the Maratha Empire*, 1742-1800, by Shri Yashwant Narayan Deodhar (for Ph. D. Degree of Bombay University), *Nagpur State in the 19th Century : A Study of some aspects of its Administrative System*, 1818-1854, by Prof. Ram Mohan Sinha (accepted for Ph. D. Degree of the Nagpur University), *Maratha Relations with the Jaipur State* by Kamsala Kumari Beniwal (Rajputana University), *Delhi under Mahadji Sindhia* by Shri Krishna Nand (for Ph. D. Degree of Delhi University), *Nana Phadnavis as a statesman* by Shri S. N. Athvale (Poona,

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1954.

Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute), *Trimbak Rao Pethe* by Shri V. S. Chitale (Poona, D. C. P. R. I), *Nana Phadnavis and the External Affairs of the Maratha State, 1742-1800*, by Shri Shrikrishna Vithal Gokhale (for Ph. D. Degree of Bombay University), *Nana Phadnavis and the External Affairs of the Maratha Empire* by Shri Y. N. Deodhar (Bombay University), *Maratha penetration into Rajasthan* by Shri Sital Prasad Vairathi (for Ph. D. Degree of Rajputana University), *Was Tatya Yog (Kiba) a traitor ?* by Shri M. R. Joshi (Rajwade Samsodhak Mandal, Dhulia, West Khandesh), *Heroic Traditional remnants of Sadashivrao Bhau on and around Panipat and Political Tussle between the Rajputs and the Marathas* by Shri S. P. Joshi (R. S. M. Dhulia, both published in Marathi), *Life of Yaswantrao Holkar* by Shri S. N. Athavale (Kolhapur Record Office), (1) *Panipat* 1761, (2)*Nagpur Bhonsles* and (3) *Nagpur Affairs*, Vol. I., by Shri T. S. Shejwalkar (D. C. P. R. I., Poona), *Tanjore under the Marathas* by Sri R. Shelvankar (Madras University), *The First Anglo-Maratha War, 1774-1782*, by Shri D. K. Deshpande (D. C. P. R. I., Poona) *Maratha Modes and Weapons of Warfare* by Shri G. K. Joshi (D. C. P. R. I., Poona), *Life and Work of Baji Rao II* by Shri Karandikar (Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *Life and Mission of Tarabai and Jijabai of Kolhapur, 1700-1800*, by Shri C. V. Lagu (Kolhapur Record Office), *History of the Bhonsles of Nagpur* by Shri D. G. Landge (National Archives of India, New Delhi), *The Mewar-Maratha Relations, 1739-1818*, by Shri K. S. Gupta (a Ph.D. thesis of the Rajasthan University), *History of the relations between the English in Bengal and the Berar Marathas in the eighteenth century*, by Shri Tarit Kumar Mookerjee (West Bengal Record Office), and *Orissa under the Maratha rule, 1740-1805*, by Shri T. S. Shejwalkar (D. C. P. R. I., Poona). The following theses are under preparation in the Bombay University : *The Life and times of Raghunath Rao* by Shri S. D. Gaikwad, *British Diplomacy at the Peshwa's Court* by Shri V. J. Naik, *Maratha Campaigns of Baseein* by Shri B. N. Pathak, the *Naval System of the Marathas* by Shri

R. V. Ramdas, *The Annexation of Tanjore by the British by Shri H. C. Banavali, and Raja Pratap Singh of Satara by Shri V. S. Khobrekar.*

We may refer to some articles like *Administration of the Last Rajah of Satara* by Miss Nondita Chatterjee of Savitri College, Ajmer¹, *Maratha-Nizam Relations : The Khazana-i-Amira of Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami* by Shri P. Setu Madhav Rao², *Maratha-Nizam Relations : The Masire Asgi of Laxmi Narayan Shafiq* also by Shri P. Setu Madhava Rao³, *Anglo-Marahta Relations during Mysore War (1783-87)* by Miss Nondita Chatterjee⁴, *Was Nana the cause of Maratha Downfall*⁵ by Shri Chidambaram Ramanujam, *How Civil Disputes were settled in the Deccan during the Regime of the Last Peshwa* by Shri V. S. Kamat (Bombay)⁶, *An unpublished letter of Francis from the India Office Library* by Dr. Sailendra Nath Sen⁷, *Predatory Activities of Khem Sawant III Bhonsle of Sawant-wadi in the vicinity of Ratnagiri (Red Fort)* in 1766 by Shri V. S. Kamat of Bombay⁸, *The Consequences of the Subsidiary Alliance which Appa Sahib had contracted with the British Government on 27th May, 1816*, by Shri John Ramalingam (Nagpur),⁹ *A Glimpse on the Annexation of the State of Nagpur by Kumari Chandrawali Gupta (Jabalpur)*, *The Reign of Parsoji Bhonsla, 23rd March, 1816,-1st February, 1817*, by Shri John Ramalingam, *Rajaram Pandit in Orissa* by Dr. Bhavani Charan Ray of Cuttack.¹⁰ In 1971 Bookland Private of Calcutta published a volume on the Pindaris which secured for its author, Dr. B. K. Sinha. (now Reader, Patna University) Ph.D. Degree of the Patna University.

A highly valuable publication on Maratha History is 'New History of the Marathas' By Dr. G. S. Sardesai, first published in 1946-67 by Phoenix Publications, Bombay. Dr. Sardesai writes in the Preface to the book : "I started my study of Maratha history forty years ago, and embodied the result in a work compiled in nine volumes written in the Maratha language and entitled *The Marathi Riyasat*. In it I tried to bring together the scattered, disarranged and uncalendered (unlisted) mass of historical data and opinions found in that tongue and after comparing them with available materials in other languages to construct a compact critical study of the rise and fall of the modern Maratha State. My work too like Rajwade's remained unknown to the world ignorant of my native language. The present *New History of the Marathas*, to be completed in three volumes (the whole now ready in manuscript), is the attempt to present a fresh and full treatment of Maratha history in English, embodying the results of the latest research. It is not a translation of the *Marathi Riyasat*; nor does it pretend to be a work of the ideal merits as described above. Indeed no one individual unless he has the encyclopoedic mind of a Gibbon, can do full justice to the subject, which requires rather the co-operative effort of a syndicate of scholars. In the absence of the hope of any such ideal combination, this book is offered to the public in full consciousness of its imperfections. If it provokes further study and thought in any corner of the great republic of letters, I shall be happy. And I shall be happier still if after a look at my book, some better gifted scholar is tempted to advance this subject, handle the enormous mass of materials and produce the long sighed for masterly History of the Marathas."

In a thesis, entitled 'Anglo-Maratha Relations and Malcolm, 1798-1830', submitted by Shri Upendra Narayan Chakravorty for Ph.D. Degree of the University of Calcutta, the candidate has presented a detailed account of Anglo-Maratha Relations from 1798 and has reviewed the role of Malcolm therein. It contains twelve chapters and a bibli-

graphy. In chapter one, which is an Introduction, the candidate gives an account of Malcolm's political career in India. In the concluding paragraph of this chapter he holds that Malcolm was sympathetic to the Indians. In chapter two he describes the condition of the Maratha States between 1798 and 1802 and discusses with much emphasis the conditions and consequences of the Treaty of Bassein.

The Second Maratha War and its aftermath have been discussed in chapter three. The terms of the Treaty of Surji Anjangaon (30th December, 1803) and their significance have been examined.

Changes made by Malcolm in the Treaty of Burhanpur have been indicated. The candidate quotes that in conducting this Treaty Malcolm "manifested great judgment, ability and discretion."

Affairs of Gohad and Gwalior and their relations with the British are discussed in chapter four and Malcolm's difference of opinion with the Governor-General on the Gwalior question has been noted. Terms of the Treaties of Mustafapur and Rajghat have been examined in chapter five. Malcolm helped his Government much to retrieve "British prestige at Sindhia's Court." It has been pointed out how Malcolm disagreed on certain points with Lord Wellesley's successor Lord Cornwallis. Malcolm's part in concluding the Treaties of Mustafapur and Rajghat have been explained. In dictating the terms of the Treaty of Rajghat to Jaswant Rao Holkar, "Malcolm proved himself", the candidate writes "an able diplomat." Descriptions relating to the Pindari War, British policy about it and how they utilized Malcolm's "talents and energy" in it have been described in chapter six.

Circumstances leading to the downfall of the Peshwa Baji Rao and his surrender have been narrated in chapter seven.

In chapter eight we have discussions about the terms and significance of the Treaty of Mandasor. The candidate briefly traces here the career of Amir Khan. He also notes how for the first occasion in his career Malcolm this time led the armies in battle. Nagpur affairs have been discussed in

chapter nine. The fall of Asirgarh has been traced in chapter ten. In chapter eleven the candidate presents Malcolm's accounts of the Marathas, their administrative institutions, trade and certain features of their social life.

On the merit of a thesis, entitled *Sindhia-Holkar Rivalry in Rajasthan*, Shri Suresh Chand Mishra obtained the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) of the Rajasthan University.

Torn by internal dissensions and subject to the various pernicious influences of pseudo-chivalry, Rajasthan, once a land of heroism and statesmanship, presented a dark and dismal picture in the eighteenth century. Her internal bankruptcy paved the way for external aggressions, particularly of Maratha imperialism, causing immense woes for her. But the Maratha leaders like the Sindhias and the Holkars themselves fell out in rivalry in their own game of exploiting Rajasthan. The story of their bitter rivalries in this connection has been narrated in detail in this thesis.

The thesis contains seven chapters including a conclusion. In the first chapter the candidate has traced the background of Maratha imperialism of the eighteenth century and its gradual penetration into Rajasthan. The second chapter deals with the beginning and development of Sindhia-Holkar rivalry in Rajasthan till 1745, and its further intensification at various places in Rajasthan and in the territories of the Jats and also of the Ruhelas has been discussed in the third and fourth chapters. The efforts of the Peshwa to bring about a compromise between them proved to be of no avail. "Thus", the candidate writes, "if we take into account the activities of Sindhia and Holkar from 1745 to 1766, we may surmise that the Holkar gained greatly during this period at Mewar....As a result of this glaring disparity, Mahadji Sindhia took up cudgels against the Holkars and a period of intense rivalry commenced." It has been pointed out by him that from 1776-1784 "was comparatively the period of mutual understanding and co-operation between the two chiefs in Jaipur. During this period Ahilya Bai took

precaution not to pick up quarrel with Sindhia on the question of money" as is clear from some of her letters. The role of Mahadji Sindhia in the First Anglo-Maratha War and his motives in the Treaty of Salbai and gains out of it have been examined by the candidate. It has also been noted how Mahadji by his position as *Vakil i-Mutlaq* (3rd December, 1784) overshadowed Holkar.

Rivalries of the two Maratha chiefs during the battles of Patan, Merta, Sarauli, Panchilas and Lakeri and the Peshwa's failure to reconcile them have been narrated in the fifth chapter. The most intense phase of the rivalry, which was marked by the tragedy of Krishna Kumari and was fanned by the English for their own selfish interests, with disastrous effects on the Maratha confederacy leading to its ultimate collapse, has been described in the sixth chapter. Rivalries of the Maratha leaders terminated with the conclusion of the British treaties with the States of Rajasthan. The Marathas had to pay a heavy price for their mutual rivalries. The candidate rightly observes "that Sindhia-Holkar rivalry proved to be very ruinous for the Maratha confederacy and was one of the main causes of the Maratha downfall."

An important work on 'Monstuart Elphinstone's Embassy and Poona Affairs (1811-1818), written by Dr. Pradeep Kumar Ghosh of Lucknow University which formed his Ph.D. thesis, was published by the Bharat Press, Lucknow, in 1977. It deals exhaustively with all phases of Elphinstone's career in India, and the author has discussed critically his various administrative measures and social reforms. He significantly remarks : "Benthamite Elphinstone was undoubtedly the chief architect of the consolidation of British power in Western India. His liberal thinking, sympathetic attitude toward the 'native culture', and a great desire to leave behind such permanent institutions in India which would perpetuate the healthy political, economic, legal and educational tradition of the west alongside the progress of the 'indigenous civilisation' made him in his time the greatest benefactor and idol of the people he governed : people who were erstwhile only plagued

by division, mutual suspicion, corruption, exploitation, superstition and ignorance. Thus Elphinstone achieved an enviable position among the top ruling echelons of the East India Company."

Mysore under Haidar and Tipu played an important role in the history of India at a time when various forces were affecting her political destiny. The most important of these was the rise of British political supremacy. Both Haidar and Tipu opposed it unflinchingly for several years. Recent critical studies of their policies and activities by Indian scholars have resulted in the production of some important works. Shri Hayavadana Rao's *History of Mysore* is an authoritative contribution, in many respects supplementing and correcting the three volumes of Wilks' *Historical Sketches of the South of India* (1810-1817). Dr. N. K. Sinha (then of Calcutta University) has presented to us a detailed biography of Haidar Ali after a very careful scrutiny of different kinds of original sources in English, French, Portuguese, Dutch, Marathi, Persian, Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese languages (first edition 1941, second edition 1949). We get here accounts of the whole career of an important personality of Indian history from his birth and ancestry, his relations with the contemporary Indian and European powers, his civil administration, military system, and significance of his career. Reviewing Haidar's administrative system, the author observes that "it was characterised by an unusual respect for ancient well-established traditions. He governed and governed well". A comprehensive biography of Tipu also has been written by Shri Mohibbul Hassan with profuseness of details and a critical analysis of his varied activities.

In 1939 Dr. M. H. Krishna (Mysore) discussed the value of *Haidar Nama*: an unpublished historical manuscript in Kannada, for studying the career of Haidar Ali. Besides describing the *darbar* of Haidar Ali, it contains a detailed account of his rise to power and of the events of his life year by year until his death.¹ In 1941 Dr. K. N. V. Shastri gave

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.

an estimate of the career of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III.¹ Another writer Mr. P. G. Sathyagirinathan (Mysore) reviewed in the same year the part played by the Wellesley brothers in the history of Mysore.²

In 1942 Shri D. S. Achuta Rao wrote a paper on *Haidar Ali : His relations with the Crown* in which he pointed out that Haidar respected the nominal sovereignty of the reigning *rajas* of Mysore and that "he was content with the substance of power and never cared to drape himself in regal robes".³ The same year Dr. S. N. Sen contributed an interesting paper on the *Cannanore Incident*, which formed an episode in the Second Anglo-Mysore War, mainly on the basis of General MacLeod's account of the capture of Cannanore and its queen and correspondence of the Governments of Madras and Bombay. The writer pointed out that Bombay "was by 1783 completely reconciled to the subordinate position assigned to her by the Regulating Act."⁴ In 1943 Dr. M. H. Krishna (Mysore) wrote an article on *Haidar's Last Battle*, in which he pointed out that in the last battle fought by Haidar with the English on the 2nd June, 1782, victory was won by him and not by Coote, though the former was not able to take full advantage of it before his death.⁵ The same year Prof. K. N. V. Shastri prepared a note on *Moral Laws under Tipu Sultan* who, as he pointed out, wanted to check various social evils.⁶

In 1944 Shri K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar (then Records Officer in charge of Research, Pudukkottai) wrote on some *Little known but vital incidents in Haidar Ali's Carnatic Campaign (1780-82)*⁷. Dr. K. N. V. Shastri studied some letters in the Home Miscellaneous collection throwing light

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1941.
2. Ibid
3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1942
4. Ibid.
5. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1948,
6. Ibid.
7. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1944.

on the character of Dewan Purnaiya. In the following year, Dr. K. N. V. Shastri (then Professor of History, Maharaja's College, Mysore) wrote a short note on *History of Mysore in the XIX Century illustrated from Contemporary News Papers*¹ in which he pointed out their importance for a detailed study of the history of Mysore.

In 1948 Mr. Mohibbul Hasan Khan (then Lecturer in History, Calcutta University and later Professor in the Muslim University, Aligarh) studied the policy of the French in the Maratha-Mysore War (1785-87). "The policy of the French at this period," he wrote, "was to prevent the Indian powers from fighting with each other in order to unite them under their leadership in a confederacy against the English." But this policy did not prove to be successful.² Next year Shri G. Narayan Rao contributed a paper on *Appajiram, the Envoy of Haidar*,³ and in 1950, Shri D. S. Achuta Rao wrote a paper on *Haidar Ali, the Forerunner of Indian Nationalism*.

In a paper, entitled *Some light on the Third Anglo-Mysore War*, Shri Ramesh Chandra Mitra (Calcutta) made an attempt to piece together some relevant facts, contained in the French records at Pondicherry, supplementing the information already available from published sources.⁴ Prof. Yusuf Hussain Khan (Hyderabad) brought to light a letter (Preserved in the Manuscript Collection of the Central Records Office, Hyderabad), addressed by Tipu Sultan, probably in January, 1791, to Nawab Nizam Ali Khan. In this letter Tipu blamed the self-seeking advisers of Nizam Ali for his pro-English policy and appealed to him to disassociate himself from the English and also to persuade the Marathas to do the same.⁵ In 1952 Shri D. S. Achuta Rao pointed out the incorrectness of Wilks' view that Haidar turned a defeatist in 1782. A statement in this respect attributed by

1. Ibid, 1945.

2. Ibid, 1948.

3. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1949.

4. Ibid, 1951.

5. Ibid.

Wilks to Haidar "must be considered", observes this writer, "a later invention and a hearsay recorded more than a quarter of a century later. It hardly finds any corroboration in contemporary accounts."¹ The same writer tried to ascertain the name of the author of the manuscript *Haidar Nama*, which was described by Dr. M. H. Krishna as "an anonymous work." Certain "references in the *Haidar Nama* and in a late Telugu composition mentioned in the same manuscript enable us to infer", notes this writer, "that Kacheri Krishnaiah who began his service as a *Karanik* and subsequently rose to the position of *Bakhshi* in the Court of Mysore under Krishnaraja Wodeyar II and a contemporary of Haidar Ali was the author of the chronicle."² Dr. N. K. Sinha pointed out (in 1949) that the date of its composition was 29th June, 1784. In his opinion "the published fragments do not justify the claim that the book is a corrective to existing accounts."³ In 1955 Dr. S. P. Sen of Calcutta University (and later, Director of the Institute of Historical Research, Calcutta) studied *Franco-Mysore Relations* from 1785 to 1793 on the basis of some French records. While on the one hand Tipu "showed an eagerness for drawing closer to France, addressed several letters direct to Louis XVI with presents for him and Marie Antoinette, sent an embassy to Paris in 1789 and proposed sending another in 1792, in his relations with the French in India he showed little eagerness to win their goodwill or even to avoid measures likely to alienate them. His agents gave repeated vexations to the French at Mahe. French goods and letters passing through Tipu's territories were constantly intercepted, and the land communication between Pondicherry and Mahe was virtually cut off. After the peace of 1783 the policy of the French was to cultivate good relations with Tipu, Nizam Ali, and the Marathas and to try to keep them united for a future eventuality of war with the English. That policy, however,

1. Ibid, 1952.

2. Ibid, 1953.

3. N K. Sinha, *Haidar Ali*, p. 298.

was frustrated by the mutual jealousies and rivalries of the three Indian powers. Tipu had to fight first against Nizam Ali and the Marathas and later against the English combined with the two Indian powers. The French merely looked on and gave no assistance to Tipu for fear of antagonising Nizam Ali and the Maratha.” When in 1793 Pondicherry was attacked by the English, assistance from Tipu was not obtained by the French. “No wonder that Tipu did not even reply to the letter of the Governor of Pondicherry.”¹ Dr. T. V. Mahalingam wrote a paper giving there a descriptive account of *Haidar Ali's attack on Srirangym and Trichinopoly in 1780* and pointing out that some historical manuscripts in the Mackenzie Collection supplement the information on the subject known from other sources.² At the same time Shri Sheikh Ali (Mysore) discussed *Nizam-Tipu relations during 1787-89.*³ Shri Sheikh Ali also contributed one paper on *Mauritius Records of the French and the Third Mysore War.*⁴ Professor S. H. Askari of Patna has brought to light 69 important letters in Persian, some of which relate to Tipu and throw much light on the character of the Sultan and on the treacherous part played by some of his chief officers, especially Mir Sadiq, Mir Nadim and Purnaiya.⁵ In 1960 came out an important work, entitled *The Finances of the Mysore State, 1799-1831*, by Shri M. H. Gopal and next year A. P. Ibrahim Kunja wrote a paper on *Mysore Policy in Malabar* during the periods of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan.

Some works about Mysore, prepared during the last few years, are :--

(1) *Foreign Policy of Tipu Sultan, 1780-1800*, by Shri B. Sheikh Ali (Mysore); (2) *Tipu Saheb, the forgotten martyr of India* by Shri P. S. Telang (Nagpur); (3) *Social Legislation in Mysore, 1850-1919*, by S. Anasuya (Mysore); (4) *Tipu*

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955.

2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1954

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid, 1955-56,

5. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1956.

Sultan's correspondence with the Ottoman Sultans by Prof. Nurul Hasan (then in the Aligarh University).

Mysore fell before the British power after a brave resistance against it. But the story of Hyderabad and the Carnatic was different. Vitality of both the kingdoms was sapped by maladministration and corruptions and they became easily prostrate before British imperialism. The Nizam of Hyderabad, legally a representative in the Deccan of the Delhi Emperor, had made himself virtually independent. But his own authority was menaced by the growing power of the Marathas and of Mysore under Haidar and Tipu, and he courted British alliance. Feeble and vacillating, he at once changed this alliance in the war of the English with the Marathas and Haidar during the administration of Warren Hastings. He entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English on the 1st September, 1798, and a "perpetual and general defensive alliance" was formed between the two on the 12th October, 1800. This subsidiary alliance guaranteed protection to the Nizam against aggressions from outside but it destroyed his initiative and interest in the internal administration of the kingdom and produced various evils. "Conceive of a country", observed the Duke of Wellington, "in every village of which there are from twenty to thirty horsemen, who have been dismissed from the service of the State, and who have no means of living except by plunder. In this country there is no law, no civil government, no inhabitant can or will, remain to cultivate, unless he is protected by an armed force, stationed in the village."

The condition of the Carnatic was extremely deplorable. Distracted by the Anglo-French conflicts, it became subject to woeful corruptions and scandals as a result of weakness and disreputable character of its ruler, Muhammad Ali, who spent his days in an undesirable manner in a magnificent palace at Chepauk, a fishing village in the suburb of Madras, in luxury and corruptions, to meet the expenses of which he borrowed money at exorbitant rates of interest from the Company's servants whose greed and ignoble conduct created

a vicious circle there. As Burke truly remarked, the Nawab of the Carnatic was not "a real potentate" but "a shadow, a dream, an incubus of oppression." Wellesley brought this unfortunate country under the supreme control of the Company in a high-handed manner on an unmerited charge of 'treasonable correspondence' with the enemies of the Company.

Some years back *Lord Cornwallis' diplomacy in relation to the Nizam and Tipu* was studied by an Indian scholar, Prof. B. N. Roy.¹ In 1939 Mr. K. Sajjan Lal (Secunderabad) described in a paper the causes and significance of the battle of Kharda.² In 1942 Mr. A. M. Siddiqi (then Lecturer in History, Osmania University, Hyderabad) brought to our notice a collection of the orginal letters addressed by Nizam Ali Khan to Muhammad Ali Wala Jah of the Carnatic from 1757, when the former held the post of Chief Minister under his brother, Salabat Jang, till his death. They contain important historical information bearing on the history of the Deccan as well as of the Coromandel coast, and on the part played by the English and French Companies in these parts.³ A year after this, Prof C. S. Srinivaschari contributed a paper⁴ on *The Climacteric of the Battle of Ambur (3rd August, 1749)*, in which the three allies the French, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jung, defeated and killed Anwaruddin, Nawab of the Carnatic. Professer H. H. Dodwell observed that "historical importance of Pondicherry and Madras dates from the battle of Ambur."⁵ In this paper the writer examined different contemporary accounts of the battle of Ambur and the events that led to it, like the narratives of Orme, Rayasam Venkatachalam Papaiya, who was the English Company's interpreter at Madras under Governor Morse and afterwards

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1937.
2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.
3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1942.
4. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1943.
5. H. H. Dodwell, Introduction, Vol. VI, *Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*.

Agent to Orme, Narayan Pillai (author of the *History of the Carnataca Governors* and Burhanuddin (*Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*). The writer produced that year also a detailed and critical account of the relations between the Carnatic and the English from 1795-1800.¹ Circumstances in which Chanda Saheb met his death were examined by Dr. A. G. Pawar (Kolhapur) on the basis of a letter of Manaji, the Tanjore General, to Chhatrapati Sambhaji (king of Kolhapur, 1714-1760 A. D.), from which it appears that Chanda Saheb was captured when he was running away and that Manaji did not betray him by violating, as was noted in an old account, an oath.² Circumstances leading to the abolition of the titular dignity of the Nawab of the Carnatic were studied by Prof. C S. Srinivasachari in 1946.³ How Lord Cornwallis resisted the repeated efforts of the Nizam to establish his claim on Kurnool after the treaty of Seringapatam (1792) was pointed out by Prof. Mohibbul Hasan Khan.⁴ In 1951 Shri K. R. Venkataraman Ayyar (of Pudukhottai) studied *Two Walajahi Persian Grant to a Vishnu Temple* (Varadaraja-Venkatesa temple) Tiruchirapalli.⁵ The first was a *parwana* issued by Mahfuz Khan, the second son of Nawab Anwaruddin of the Carnatic. The second *parwana* confirming the gifts of Mahfuz was issued by his brother Muhammad Ali, the next Nawab of the Carnatic Sayyid Mohiuddin (Central Records Office, Hyderabad) brought to light⁶ a letter of Nizam Ali, which throws light on the activities of John Holland as an envoy on behalf of the Madras Government in 1779 and reveals the diplomatic relations then subsisting between the Nizam and the English Company. Some French letters, preserved in the Pondicherry Archives and throwing an interesting light on the relations between the French and

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1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1943.
 2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1944.
 3. Ibid, 1946.
 4. Ibid, 1948 (Jaipur session).
 5. Ibid, 1951.
 6. Ibid, 1953.

Hyderabad from 1785 to 1793, were studied by Dr. S. P. Sen.¹ In a paper on *The Nizam and Cornwallis*, Prof. S. H. Askari (Patna) tried to consider the significance of Lord Cornwallis' first administration in relation to Nizam Ali of Hyderabad.²

Anglo-Nizam Relations was the subject of a thesis prepared by Regani Sarojini (Osmania University, Hyderabad). A history of Kurnool upto 1858 has been prepared by S. A. Razach Bokhari (Madras University). In 1952 came out a Volume of *Selections from the Orme Manuscripts*, edited by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari³ and published by the Annamalai University according to the Five Years' Publication Programme of the National Archives of India. We may note incidentally that in 1945 Mr. P. K. S. Raja (Annamalai University) studied *The Palassi Rebellion*. The Palassi Raja belonged to the western branch of the royal family of Kottayam. During the third Anglo-Mysore War, the Raja helped the English. After the treaty of Seringapatam, the Raja's dominions were not restored to him but were given on lease to the Kurumbarnad Raja, who had no right to it. This unjust act drove the Palassi Raja to revolt. He was ultimately vanquished in November, 1805, and the revolt ended with his death.⁴ Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari⁵ discussed in 1950 the *Penultimate Phase of the Poligar war of 1799-1801*, on the authority of the *Journal of Captain Walsh*, who was himself engaged in the campaigns, and the observations of Lord Valentia, who travelled in South India in 1803. Since the Carnatic wars of the fifties of the eighteenth century the Southern Poligars of Madura and Tinevelly resisted strongly the exactions of the deputies of the Nawab of the Carnatic

1. *Ibid*, 1954.

2. *Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, 1951.

3. Unfortunately the learned Editor, to whom we are indebted for many valuable works on modern Indian History, did not survive to see the publication of this volume.

4. *Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, 1945.

5. *Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, 1950.

and of the English renters associated with them. They were consequently subject to frequent punitive campaigns. "The final war of 1799-1801," observed the writer, "included several long-drawn and bitterly contested campaigns in which the Kattabomma chiefs took the most prominent part and naturally earned fame as redoubtable champions of independence vigorously attempted to be sustained against the Colossus of English might."¹ A paper on *History of Surat* till it came under the control of the East India Company was written by Dr. H. N. Sinha in 1940.² Dr. M. A. Muttalib obtained Ph.D. Degree of the Osmania University on the merit of his thesis on *The Administration of Justice under the Nizams, 1724-1947*. In 1959 Shri Y. Bittalrao Bhimavaram of Andhra Pradesh contributed a paper on *East India Company and Andhra*.³ In 1961 B. Sheikh Ali of Mysore wrote a paper explaining why the Nizam deserted the English in the *First Anglo-Mysore War*. The same year Prof. Nani Gopal Chaudhury (Calcutta) obtained D. Phil. Degree of the Calcutta University for his thesis on *British Relations with Hyderabad (1798-1843)*. It forms a well-written, competent monograph on the subject. Sri Prabhatangshu Maiti (Calcutta University) prepared a thesis on *Muhammad Ali of Arcot*.

While the English were still struggling against various hostile forces in Peninsular India till the beginning of the 19th century, their political authority in northern India had been established on a firm basis. The revolutions accomplished by Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764) made them virtual masters of Bengal and Bihar. The treaty of Allahabad (1765) rendered the Nawab of Oudh a dependent ally of the English East India Company and Shah Alam II's *Diwani Grant* of August, 1765, gave a *de jure* recognition to the *de facto* authority of the English in Bengal. Though the English Company thus became the real ruler of Bengal, Clive, out

1. Ibid.

2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.

3. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1959.

of various considerations, shrank from accepting direct responsibility for its administration and left it with the Nawab, who was a mere figurehead and had lost all authority as a result of his treaty with English Company, dated 20th February, 1765. The new form of government established by Clive in Bengal was a dyarchy, marked by divorce of power from responsibility, and naturally produced abuses of diverse kinds to the great detriment of the interests of this country. Clive's successors, Verelst (1767-1769) and Cartier (1769-1772), had neither the inclination nor the capacity to eradicate these evils, and in this one of the darkest periods in the history of our country people began to groan under the weight of oppression, corruption and miseries, which were aggravated by the terrible famine of 1770. Richard Becher, a servant of the Company in Bengal, wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors on the 24th May, 1769 : "It must give pain to an Englishman to have reason to think, that since the accession of the Company to the Diwani, the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before ; yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted. This fine country, which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government, is verging towards ruin." "The new government of the Company", wrote Hastings on the 22nd July, 1772, "consists of a confused heap of undigested materials, as wild as the chaos itself."¹ This state of affairs had begun to produce some adverse effects also on the interests of the Company, and their government at home soon felt the need of putting an end to the evils of the Dual Government. Their choice for this task fell on Warren Hastings, who was appointed Governor of Bengal and whose administration as such began on the 9th April, 1772. "We now arm you with full powers," wrote his masters to him, "to make a complete reformation" of the various evils then rampant in Bengal. "It is evident," wrote the Company to the President and Council in Calcutta on the 7th April, 1773,

¹ Gleig, Memoirs of Warren Hastings, Vol. I., p. 817.

"that the evils which have been so destructive to us lie too deep for any partial plan to correct. It is therefore our resolution to aim at the root of these evils ; and we are happy in having reason to believe that in every just and necessary regulation we should meet with approbation and support of the Legislature who consider the public as materially interested in the Company's prosperity."¹

The history of Bengal, during these years of quickly succeeding political revolutions giving a new turn to her destiny, is full of the deepest lessons for us today. Prejudices, preconceptions and lack of correct knowledge of traditions led to the formulation of certain views and conclusions, the validity of which have to be carefully tested through unbiased original studies. There are a series of events and many unknown or ignored but important episodes, the origin, growth and effects of which should be properly understood on the basis of original documents. The movements of the respective European trading Companies in India during the eighteenth century, leading to their inevitable penetration into the field of Indian politics, and ultimate victory of the English, must be explained with a careful analysis of the deep-rooted causes through the genuine perspective of an historian. The battles of Plassey and Buxar were not accidental events. The logic of facts was driving the country to these decisive battles, and the factors which contributed to the success of the English must be ascertained through the means of critical investigations.

Of late, some Indian scholars have been engaged in the study of this period by utilising newly discovered materials. I have tried to present a review of the conditions prevailing in Bengal in the pre-Plassey days in my work on "*Alivardi and His Times*," published by the University of Calcutta in 1939. A new edition of this work has been published by World Press, Catcutta. In my introduction to volume one of *Fort William-India House Correspondence* (published by the

1, Moncton Jones, Warren Hastings in Bengal, p. 148.

Government of India according to the Five Years' Publication Programme of the Indian Historical Records Commission), I have made an attempt to examine critically the real causes of the quarrel between Sirajuddaulah and the English, besides dealing with certain other aspects of the history of this period.

The years 1756-57 formed a turning-point in the history of India. These were marked by a weighty revolution destined to affect the history of India in various ways. To understand the real causes of this revolution one must critically study the relation between Sirajuddaulah and the English.

The relations of the Europeans in Bengal with Sirajuddaulah, heir-designate of Alivardi, were cordial in 1752. Early in May, 1752, Alivardi declared Sirajuddalalh, in whom he lived and moved and had his being, as his successor. Soon afterwards during his stay at Hugli, Sirajuddaulah "was visited by the French and Dutch Governors with presents equivalent to his Dignity." As instructed by the *faujdar* of Hugli and by Khwaja Wajid, one of the principal merchants of Bengal who resided at Hugli, the Council in Calcutta "judged it highly necessary to pay the Nabob (Nawab) the Compliment required." Accordingly, the President of the English Company, Mr. Roger Drake, accompanied by Messrs Cruttenden and Becher and the Commandant, visited Sirajuddaulah at Hugli in the beginning of the third week of September, 1752. They were received there, as the Council in Calcutta expressed in gratifying terms, "with the utmost politeness and distinction far superior than was paid the French or Dutch." Appreciating this cordiality of Sirajuddaulah, the Court of Directors observed in their letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated 23rd January 1754, that they should lose no opportunity of "improving the favourable opinion he seems to entertain of the English Nation." In another letter, dated 29th November, 1754, the Court significantly noted that the "Country Government" (Nawab's government) had "always shown more preferable marks of favour to the English than to the other European

Nations." In the course of three years, however, Bengal became the scene of a sanguinary contest between Sirajuddaulah and the English with disastrous consequences for this country.

Some are of opinion that Sirajuddaulah was guilty of perpetrating acts of violence and cruelty on the English without any cause. He has been accused of unprovoked acts of aggression, committed in compliance with what Holwell describes as the "deathbed instructions of Alivardi to destroy the Forts and Garrisons of the Europeans and to reduce their Trade on the Footing of the Armenians." But Holwell's testimony is not unimpeachable. Though possessed of ability, Holwell had neither integrity nor veracity. He was accustomed to fabricate facts or invent stories to vindicate his own position or point of view. Positive evidence of some English contemporaries of Holwell, then in the service of the Company in Bengal, (Watts, Chief of the English factory at Cassimbazar, Matthew Collet, second of the Council at Cassimbazar, and Richard Becher, Chief of the Company's factory at Dacca), proves that his story of the anti-European death-bed speech of Alivardi is a veritable concoction. There are references also in some of the 18th century Persian works which show that Alivardi had no such evil motive as Holwell imputed to him. Besides questioning the genuineness of Holwell's statement, referred to above, Richard Becher expresses the view that "the English had given Sur Raja Doula (Sirajuddaulah) sufficient provocation to make him their enemy without any need of his grand-father's advice."

In fact, quarrel between Sirajuddaulah and the English East India Company had become inevitable because of the conflicting interests of the two. Apprehending prejudice to the authority of the Nawab's Government from certain facts on the part of the English in Bengal, Sirajuddaulah protested against these during the last days of his grandfather. He justly accused them of complicity with the rival party, which under the leadership of Shahamat Jang's widow, Ghasiti Begam, and her chief diwan, Rajballabh, then opposed his claims to

the subahdarship. According to M. Jean Law, they, like some others, were "led away by the idea that he (Sirajuddaulah) could not have sufficient influence to get himself recognised as subahdar." They were even suspected of having "an understanding" with Shaukat Jang, Nawab of Purneah, and another rival of Sirajuddaulah. Counting on better prospects of success of Sirajuddaulah's rivals and so with a view to securing the favour of their guide, Rajballabh, the Council in Calcutta at the request of Mr. Watts, Chief of the English factory at Cassimbazar, gave shelter to Rajballabh's son, Krishnadas (Krishna Ballabh), who fled away to Calcutta in March, 1765, with his family and wealth on the pretext of a pilgrimage to Jagannath at Puri.

All this strengthened Sirajuddaulah's suspicion about what he construed as the hostile machinations of the English East India Company in collusion with his rivals, and he reported to Alivardi in the presence of Dr. Forth, surgeon of the Cassimbazar factory, who was attending the Nawab about a fortnight before his death, that the English intended to support Ghasiti Begum. Questioned by the Nawab regarding this charge, Dr. Forth described it as a "malicious report" on the part of their enemies and disclaimed any intention on the part of the Company to interfere in political matters.

But this did not satisfy Sirajuddaulah. He levelled three definite charges against the English. The first one was that they had "built strong fortifications and dug a large ditch in the King's dominions contrary to the laws of the country." The second was that they had "abused the privilege of dasticks (*dastaks*) by granting them to such as were no ways entitled to them, from which practices the King has suffered greatly in the revenue of his Customs." The third complaint was that they had "given protection to such of the King's subjects as have by their behaviour in the employes they were entrusted with made themselves liable to be called to an account and instead of giving them upon demand they allow such persons to shelter themselves within their bounds from the

hands of justice." He expressed his intention to "pardon their fault and permit their residence here" if they "will promise to remove the foregoing complaints of their conduct and will agree to trade upon the same terms as other merchants did in the times of the Nabob Jaffeir Cawn (Murshid Quli Jafar Khan)."

A careful scrifiny of relevant contemporary documents shows that these charges were not baseless. As regards fortifications, the Council in Calcutta had attempted to imporove them by ignoring the authority of the Nawab's Government during the fatal illness of Alivardi. Even if it be argued that no new works of fortifications had been undertaken at that time, and that Sirajuddaulah had received false or fabricated reports regarding the preparations of the English and the French, there cannot be any doubt as to their efforts for the strengthening of constructions as had been already commenced and carrying out certain repairs. Sirajuddalah was not content to remain a silent spectator in this matter. He maintained the same point of view regarding it as Murshid Quli Jafar Khan or Alivardi Khan had done. Like them he felt that it would not be advisable to allow the Europeans to build strong fortifications within his dominions. His apprehension was that this would adversely affect his own authority. In view of the military and political exploits and success of the Europeans in Southern India and the virtual subordination of the rulers at Hyderabad and Arcot to their control, Sirajuddaulah thought it necessary, like his grandfather, to take adequate precautions for the prevention of effective European interference in Bengal politics. The Caranatic episodes must have greatly influenced his policy in relation to the Europeans in Bengal. It would be incorrect to say that Sirajuddaulah forbade the English only to add to their fortifications out of a special bias against them. He wanted to enforce the same injunction on the other European nations too. Even Holwell states, "though liberty of trade is granted to the Danes and Prussians, yet they are prohibited fortifications or garrisons." Sirajuddaulah passed

simultaneous orders on the French at Chandernagore and the English Governor in Calcutta, Mr. Drake, to desist from the work of building fortifications at their respective settlements. The former were able to satisfy him. But he became extremely disgusted at the reply he received from Mr. Drake to the effect that the English were not "erecting any new fortifications" but were only repairing the wharf and that the Nawab had been misinformed by their enemies about their digging any new ditch except that one which had been executed during the period of Maratha invasions with the approbation of Alivardi. He further noted that, apprehending renewal of hostilities between the English and the French, which were bound to have an echo in India, they thought it necessary "to be upon our guard and make our place as defensible as we could."

When Mr. Drake's reply reached the Nawab during his stay at Rajmahal, he is said to have exclaimed : "Who shall dare to think of commencing hostilities in my country, or presume to imagine I have not power to protect them ?" Holwell regrets that the answer had not been debated in Council before it was sent. He also observes : "the whole of it had a tendency to confirm the Suba (Nawab) in a belief of those insinuations which had been already conveyed to him, that the war between us and the French would probably be brought into Bengal beside its carrying a tacit reflection on the Suba's power or will to protect us."

There is plenty of contemporary evidence to justify Sirajuddaulah's complaint regarding the abuse of *dastaks* (passports) by the Company's servants at the cost of the revenues of the Government and the interests of the indigenous merchants. It had become an old practice by that time in spite of the previous attempts for its removal by the government of the Nawabs and occasionally by the English Company. In 1755 the Court of Directors asked the Council in Calcutta to "be extremely careful to prevent all abuses of the Dusticks." Referring to the "ill use made of this indulgence" by the servants of the Company, Holwell observed

in his letter to Court, dated 30th November, 1756 : ‘That the abuse of dusticks should be one cause of complaint, I am not surprised at.’’ Roger Drake claimed that he “had in a great measure curbed that unlicensed practice”, “had refused applications on that head” and “was warm to remedy and put those checks which were resolved on to prevent the abuse of that indulgence.” He could not certainly remove this abuse which grew so terribly in the post-Plassey period.

So far as the third complaint is concerned, it is not really “difficult to understand” Sirajuddaulah’s point of view regarding it. There is a clear reference in the account of David Rannie (August 1756) that the English Company “gave protection to the Nawab’s subjects though they were neither their servants nor their merchants.” Further, the affair of Krishnadas (Krishna Ballabh) was a sufficiently provocative one. For certain reasons, particularly for Raj Ballabh’s leadership of a hostile party, there was no love lost between him and Sirajuddaulah. Sirajuddaulah demanded from him an account of the administration of Dacca finances for several years. Raj Ballabh, who happened to be then at Murshidabad, was placed in confinement in March, 1756, and persons were deputed to Dacca to attach his property and family. There is no doubt that Raj Ballabh’s family came to seek shelter in Calcutta to avoid this. But the Council in Calcutta continued to shelter the son and family of an ex-officer of the Government, who had incurred the Subahdar’s displeasure, even after he had demanded their dismissal. Richard Becher writes that to harbour Krishnadas in Calcutta in defiance of the Nawab’s demand was a “wrong step.” Some other English contemporaries considered it to be a risky course. Just on the eve of Alivardi’s death, Mr. Watts himself sent a letter to the President in Calcutta suggesting that it would be “expedient” that “Kissendas and the rest of Rajballabh’s family should have no longer protection in Calcutta.” Considering this to be a “salutary advice” and apprehending that the continuance of protecting them till the death of Alivardi “might be productive of Trouble,” Mr.

Holwell "pressed more than once for the dismissal of this family." He pleads, however, that it did not become possible for the President to dismiss them, "the more especially as for some days advices from all quarters were in favour of the Begam's (Ghasiti Begam) party."

Some years back I published two papers¹ presenting therein a detailed account of the circumstances leading to the recovery of Calcutta by the English in 1757, followed by the conclusion of the treaty of 9th February, 1757, between Sirajuddaulah and the English. I discussed also the subject of the *Fortification of Calcutta and the policy of the Nawabs of Bengal* regarding it in an issue of the Journal of the Patna University. In an issue of the Current Studies (Patna College, Patna), I examined the influence of the *mid-eighteenth century wars in Peninsular India on Bengal politics*.

On the 23rd December, 1754, Godehu signed a 'provisional treaty' with Saunders, English Governor of Madras, the validity of which depended on its final ratification by the home authorities of the English and French East India Companies. But the interests of the English and the French were then too conflicting to admit of a perfectly cordial settlement. As a matter of fact, recrudescence of a war between the two was only a question of time. So, as I have indicated in a paper² regarding *Some Correspondence of the Court of Directors to the Council in Calcutta*, the former communicated in 1755 and 1756 due notes of warning and advice in this matter to the latter and asked them to be well on their guard against the risks of the apprehended conflict. Anxious for the safety of the English East India Company's settlements in India against the apprehended renewal of conflicts with the French, and also as a measure of precaution against some indigenous forces that might resist the Company, the Court of Directors in England, as I have

1. Calcutta Review, 1933.

2. Journal of the Bihar Research Society. Vol. XXX, 1944, parts I and II.

pointed out in another paper¹ not only sent occasional reinforcements for the Company's army in their respective settlements but also advised the Councils there to tap useful sources of recruitment for the army in India (1754-1757). Colonel Caroline Frederick Scott, an able and shrewd officer of the English Company in Bengal, who thought in 1754 of "success in bringing about a Revolution in Bengal and to their advantage",² suggested the recruitment of the Rajputs of Bihar to the army of the Company. The Court of Directors recommended its careful consideration by the Council in Calcutta, and the Bihari Rajputs began to contribute from this time not an inconsiderable quota to the ranks of East India Company's Indian troops. The territorial, official and mercantile aristocracy of Bengal and Bihar exercised a potent influence on the history of these provinces during the transitional period of the mid-eighteenth century. So minute and careful investigations into the careers of Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia, the Seths of Murshidabad, the Zamindars of Birbhum, Burdwan, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Tikari and Bhojpur, of Raja Janakiram (for some time Nabi Nazim of Bihar), and his son Raja Durlabhram, of Raja Rajballabh of Dacca, of Raja Ramnarain (Naib Nazim of Bihar for some years), of Raja Shitab Ray and his son Raja Kalyan Singh of Patna, and of some others, would bring to light many facts of historical importance full of lessons for us today. Some years back, I wrote a paper in an issue of *the Indian Historical Quarterly* on the career of *Durlabhram*, who was intimately associated with the Murshidabad Government and played an important part in the political revolution of 1757 in Bengal, being responsible, along with some others, for the betrayal of their master Sirajuddaulah. He remained a friend of the English in Bengal till his death in 1770.

In 1941 Prof. T. A. Talukdar (Krishnagar, Bengal)

1. Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XXXI, 1945, parts I and II.
2. C. R. Wilson, Fort William in Bengal, Vol. II, p. 74; vide my paper on this subject, in Shrikrishna Abhinandan Granth, Monghyr.

discussed in a paper the baneful effects of early British rule in Bengal in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹ Shri Paresh Nath Mukherjee sought to prove that Hindu discontent was not a cause of the war between the English and Sirajuddaulah as Mr. S. C. Hill had observed.² In 1949 Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya wrote an article *Who was the aggressor?* trying to examine in it as to who took the aggressive in the relations between Sirajuddaulah and the English in the period intervening between the signing of the treaty of Alinagar on the 9th February, 1757, and the outbreak of hostilities culminating in the battle of Plassey. "The tragedy of the situation was", he observed, "that while Sirajuddaulah was being lulled into a sense of perfect security by the continued assurances held out by the British, they were at the same time instigating his enemies in a manner which made war inevitable."³ Sri Nani Gopal Chaudhuri of Konnagar (Bengal) discussed the *Anglo- French disputes in Bengal during the administration Cartier (December 1769-April 1772)*⁴. The same writer wrote about the *Conflict between the Bengal Government under Cartier and Shujauddaulah⁵* and the *Diplomatic Relations of the Bengal Government under Cartier with the powers of Hindustan (December 1769-June 1771)*.⁶ In 1949 Shri T. K. Mukherji (Calcutta) discussed how the English after 1760 tackled the question of the *Chauth* of Bengal demanded by the Marathas. "The upshot of the matter was that Janojee retained possession of Orissa, while English continued to refuse the *Chauth*. Janojee had not strength enough to settle the question of *Chauth* by force. Through internal dissensions the power of the Bhonsles had decayed. Yet Janojee would not think of surrendering his right to the *Chauth* which was so vital to the prestige of his

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress 1941,

2. Ibid. 1948.

3. Ibid. 1949.

4. Ibid. 1944.

5. Ibid. 1945.

6. Ibid. 1946.

family. The question of *Chauth* was raised later in 1781 and again in 1785 but the claim was never again seriously pressed except as an argument to embarrass the English in the course of other negotiations ”¹

In volume two of the *History of Bengal* (published by the Dacca University) Sir Jadunath has given a detailed account of the events leading to the battle of Plassey and its effects, with reflections on the significance of this battle as marking the commencement of a new era. In 1958 Mr. A. Hughes brought to our notice an account of the reign of Sirajuddaulah contained in the valuable contemporary Persian history of Yusuf Ali Khan.² It is interesting to note the following observation in his article.: “Yusuf Ali’s references to the shutting up in a small room, and suffocation, of some of the English prisoners from the capture of Calcutta, will undoubtedly arouse the interest of those who have at any time followed the course of the ‘Black Hole’ controversy ; this new information, however, needs to be correlated with other information available or forthcoming, before firm conclusions can be reached.”

A volume (a Ph. D. thesis of London University) on the career of Mir Jafar, written by Dr. Atul Chandra Roy of Calcutta, came out in 1953. I wrote in 1931³ an *Estimate of the character and policy of Mir Qasim*, Nawab of Bengal, 1760-1763. Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee of Lucknow University brought out, several years back, a detailed biography of Mir Qasim. I feel that a critical account of the policy and activities of this important personality is still due. Nandalal Chatterjee’s work on *Verelst’s Rule in India*, prepared mainly on the basis of manuscript records of the Government of India and of the Bengal Government, and presenting detailed account of the English Company’s administration (1767-1769), came out in 1939. In 1950 a highly useful volume of original records for the years 1767-69, edited by

1. Ibid. 1949.
2. Bengal : Past and Present, January-June, 1958.
3. Journal of Indian History, 1931.

Dr. N. K. Sinha of Calcutta University and forming Vol. V. of Fort Wiliam-India House Correspondence Series (1748-1800), was published by National Archives of India, New Delhi. It is a mine of information for the history of Bengal during these critical years. The letters contained in it form correspondence exchanged between the Fort William in Calcutta and the Court of Directors in London, and enable us to get a true picture of the various deplorable features in the unsound administration of the time, and of the growing economic decline in the province. There are also incidental references to the social conditions of the country. The learned Editor's *Introduction* to the volume contains a careful analysis and a critical discussion of the contents of the letters.

Several other similar volumes, carefully edited by different scholars with a critical Introduction and notes in each, have been subsequently published by the National Archives of India to the great advantage of researchers on various aspects of the history of India during the eighteenth century. Those are Vol. I covering the years 1748-57 edited by Dr. K. K. Datta, Vol. II covering the years 1782-85 edited by Dr. B. A. Saletore, Vol. XII covering the years 1792-95 edited by Prof. Y. J. Taraporewala and Vol. XIII covering the years 1796-1800 edited by Dr. P. C. Gupta. We may refer to a volume, entitled *Select Documents of the British Period of Indian History* (in the collection of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta) edited by its Curator, Dr. D. C. Ganguly. It contains eightysix documents of the period from 1758 to 1857.

In a paper on *Clive and the Junior Civil Servants*,¹ Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee studied Clive's attitude towards the Company's Junior Civil Servants seeking to explain the reasons for his failure in effectively reforming the civil service. The same writer has shown in another paper² that Clive during his second administration drew the attention of the Court of Directors to the evil of illicit arms smuggling at the

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.

2. Ibid. 1942.

port towns by the crew of the French, Dutch and other ships from Europe. He also mentioned in another paper¹ how during his second administration Clive tried to grapple with the evil of usury which had reached alarming proportions among the servants of the Company in Bengal. Recently Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee brought out a volume² on the second administration of Lord Clive in Bengal including the relevant chapters noted above. It contains also an estimate of his administration in concluding which he observes : "Having started with the laudable resolution of cleansing the Augean stable Clive ended by making confusion worse confounded. The system which he laid down and the course which followed were characterised by a shortsighted opportunism which reveals his failure to rise to the height of a statesman." Sri Ramendra Nath Choudhuri of Rajasthan University, Jaipur, prepared a dissertation on *Establishment of British supremacy in Bengal and Bihar 1756-64*. In 1955 Prof. N. B. Roy (then of Visva Bharati, Santiniketan) contributed an article on the *Early inroads of the Naga Sannyasis in Bengal* (1760-73 A. D.) giving an account of their engagements against the English Company. "They were not," remarks this writer, "freebooters as treated out by some writers, nor were they the vanguards of freedom movement as portrayed in the *Anandamath* of Bankimchandra.³ We get also another account of their activities in a work by Shri Jamini Mohan Ghosh on *Sannyasi and Fakir raiders in Bengal*.⁴ As I feel, a correct account of their role in the history of this period is still due. I have tried to explain the *Genesis of the Diwani Grant* of 1765, which was a very significant event in the history of the Bengal Subah and of India as a whole. This grant was a logical sequel to the treaty of 20th February, 1763, between the Council in Calcutta and Najmuddaullah, the Nawab of Bengal. It was a natural concomitant of the

1. Ibid. 1944.

2. Published by the Indian Press, Allahabad.

3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955.

4. Published by the Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta.

*eclipse of Mughal rule in India, in a sense the culmination of an idea which had originated a few years back (from 1759) in consequence of it.*¹ The administration in Bengal following this grant has been reviewed by Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, who observes : "The story of the years that constituted the period of the Diwani administration in Bengal makes a dismal reading and one cannot escape the verdict that the period was probably the darkest in the history of the local people."² Shri S. L. Katare of Mahakoshal Mahavidyalay, Jabbalpur, prepared a dissertation on *Bengal in Transition, 1756-65.* Nihar Kana Mazumdar's thesis on *Justice and Police in Bengal 1765-1793*, secured for her the D. Phil Dgree of the University of Calcutta. Shri Narendra Nath Das (Calcutta) has done some work on *Socio-Economic History of Midnapur, 1760-1803.* Shri Sudesh Chandra Deb (Saugor University) wrote *Lord Clive as a statesman*, Dr. R. K. Das Gupta has studied *Political History of 19th Century Bengal.*

An article on *Sirajuddaulah and Europeans* by Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvansi appeared in an issue of the Saugar University Journal.³ Another article by Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvansi on *Fall of Sirajuddaulah, The Nawab of Bengal*, was published subsequently.⁴ Dr. Q. Ahmad, formerly Research Fellow of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna and now a Reader in the History Department of the Patna University has brought to light some unpublished letters of Raja Shitab Rai, who was closely connected with the mid-eighteenth century political transactions in Bengal and Bihar.⁵ Dr. Q. Ahmad has further studied an unpublished account of Chotanagpur in the eighteenth century by Raja Shitab Rai.⁶ In one paper I have assessed the evidence of a newly discovered Hindi manuscript about the Jagat Seths, the famous bankers of Murshidabad, who also played an important role in the

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1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1952.
 2. Journal of Indian History. April, 1955.
 3. Vol. I, No. 2, 1952-58.
 4. Journal of Indian History, August, 1961.
 5. Vol. I, No. 2, 1952-58.
 6. Journal of Indian History, August, 1961.

history of India during the transitional years of the eighteenth century.¹ In 1960 Shri Tridiv Nath Ray of Calcutta contributed a paper on *Mystery of the Black Hole*.² Reference may be made to the paper on *British Occupation of the Fort of Sambalpur* by Dr. Bhavani Charan Roy of Orissa.³ In 1961 Dr. Shri Govind Mishra then of Siwan College (Bihar) prepared a thesis on the *History of Bihar, 1740-1772*, on the merit of which he was awarded the Ph.D. Degree of the Patna University.

A student of History studying the vicissitudes in the political destiny of India from the mid-eighteenth century must try to understand carefully the process of the gradual liquidation and ultimate eclipse of Mughal political authority. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's monumental volumes on the *Fall of the Mughal Empire* contain graphic descriptions of the contemporary affairs relating to the Delhi Empire, the abortive Bengal and Bihar invasions of Shah Alam II in 1759 to 1761 and the battle of Buxar. Driven from pillar to post and post to pillar by adverse circumstances Shah Alam II had to pass his days through unspeakable agonies and his relations with the English also show his utter helplessness in all respects. His negotiations with the English after the battle of Buxar, which I have described in an article,⁴ abundantly explain his pathetic position. The battle of Buxar (23rd October, 1764) was a significantly decisive episode in the history of India. It resulted in the defeat of three important rulers of Northern India, Emperor Shah Alam II, Nawab Shujauddaulah of Oudh and Mir Qasim, the expelled Nawab of Bengal. Immediately after it, Shah Alam II, not quite happy at his virtual dependence on Shujauddaulah,⁵ threw himself almost at the mercy of the English and entered into negotiations with them from Benares, which ultimately led to

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1960.
2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1959.
3. Ibid. 1961.
4. Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. LXX, Serial No 133, 1951.
5. Broome, Bengal Army, p. 464.

the grant of the *Diwani* and the cession of Kora and Allahabad to Shah Alam II.

The promise of the English, made to Shah Alam II since 1761 to give him military assistance for the fulfilment of his natural desire to return to his ancestral metropolis at Delhi, was reiterated by Clive at the time of the *Diwani* grant.¹ But on one plea or the other the English evaded compliance with it. Clive even regretted his inability to comply with Shah Alam II's request "without a reference to his sovereign." Accordingly it was decided to send a letter of representation to king George III and such a letter was drafted at Dum Dum near Calcutta in consultation with Lord Clive, Carnac and George Vansittart but without the knowledge of the Council in Calcutta. Captain Archibald Swinton was put in charge of the mission to George III and a sum of one lakh of rupees was sanctioned for present to the latter. Itsamuddin, author of *Sagarfnamah-i-Wilayt*, also accompanied this mission. About a week after they had embarked, Captain Swinton informed Itsamuddin that Lord Clive had kept the letter with him saying that as he was returning to England next year he would himself give it to the king along with the money for the present. Clive went to England in 1767 and Itsamuddin learnt to his great surprise and regret that Clive had presented the money to the Queen on his own behalf and nothing had been mentioned by him about the letter. This episode has been mentioned in some articles.²

Shah Alam's is indeed a tragic character in Indian history. He solicited help in different quarters to meet with nothing but disillusionment and disappointment. Once again he had to court disappointment by writing a letter to George III in

1. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I, 1186, 2688; Vol. II 660; Vol. III, 399; Ghulam Ali, Shah Alam Namah, Vol. II, p. 233; Sagar namah by Itsamuddin (Copy found in Wakf Library at Kujhwa in Saran district, Bihar), pp. 10-11; Letter from Clive to Smith, 28th December, 1766.

2. Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, Patna session 1930, pp. 87-91; Bengal : Past and Present, July 1936; Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1939.

1772, the contents of which I have studied in a paper.¹ According to the *Diwani* settlement of August, 1765 Shah Alam II was entitled to receive an annual tribute worth 26 lakhs of rupees out of the revenues of Bengal. But even this was soon denied to him. Lord Clive left India on the 26th January, 1767. The correspondence of Shah Alam II with his successor, Harry Verelst, tells us of the Delhi Emperor's repeated complaints to the effect that the promised tribute was not paid to him regularly, though he was in acute financial stringency, and of his request to the English to help him with a body of troops in returning to Delhi. Verelst gave him favourable assurances with regard to both. But during the administration of John Cartier (December 1769 to April 1772) confusion became worse confounded. Remittance of the imperial tribute became more irregular than before in spite of repeated requests on the part of Shah Alam II. Disappointed from the side of the English and failing in two attempts to go to Delhi,² Shah Alam soon entered into an engagement with the Marathas, who had by that time recovered from the blows of Panipat, and entered Delhi in Jaunary, 1772. The northern push of the Marathas, and their control over the Delhi Emperor, were considered by Hastings to be potential dangers to the English Company. The Delhi Emperor, in his opinion, no longer deserved support of the English and had forfeited his claim to the Bengal tribute. The remittance of the Imperial tribute was actually stopped in no time. The repeated demands of the Delhi Emperor for the "Tribute" received no favourable response from Warren Hastings, who was determined to reverse in full the system of Lord Clive, which he considered to be unsuitable to conditions of the time.

Placed in an extremely embarrassing situation, the Delhi Emperor once again (in 1772) thought of sending a letter³ to

1. A letter of Shah Alam II to George III, in Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1940, Vol XXVI, Part-IV.

2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.

3. Copy preserved in Original Consultations of the Secret Committee, dated the 11th December, 1772.

George III through Major John Morrison who was then going to Europe. This representation, like the two made previously, proved futile. Some records of the Company contain references to the pathetic appeals of the Delhi Emperor for remittance of the Bengal tribute. It was laid down in one of the clauses of the Treaty of Benares, concluded by Hastings with Shujauddaulah on the 7th September, 1773, that the English "were to cease paying tribute to Shah Alam"¹ When after this the Delhi Emperor wrote to Mr. Hastings on the 9th September, 1773, asking the Governor to remit to him "tribute from Bengal and give up Korah and Allahabad" he was informed on the 13th September : "I must plainly declare that until the safety and welfare of those provinces will admit of, I cannot consent that a single rupee be sent out of them which it is in my power to detain."² Hastings, as he said, was supported in this step by the Court of Directors, who in a letter, dated 3rd March, 1775, ordered that "no further remission should be made to him (Shah Alam II) without their express permission." Prof. S. H. Askari of Patna discovered in a rare collection of letters and other writings of Munshi Sambhu Lal³, compiled in 1197, A.H. 1782 A.D., two letters written (probably in 1779 A. D.) by the author at the request of Raja Daya Ram and in the name of Shah Alam II, one to Lord North and the other to George III. As Prof. Askari has pointed out, the chief significance of Shah Alam's letter to George III "lies in the fact that besides containing a reiteration of the Emperor's grievances regarding the non-payment of the dues of the past amounting to one crore and sixty-six lakhs of rupees, it reflects the opinion of certain sections of contemporary Indians, if not of the Emperor himself, on certain political and economic

1. Forrest, Selections. Vol. I. p. 59.

2. *Ibid*, p. 58.

3. He is identical with Sambhunath, the Munshi, of Mr. Fowke, who has been mentioned by Warren Hastings and also in *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. V (Nos. 55, 1067, 1336), in connection with the Chait Singh affair.

conditions of the country during the time. There is a note of confidence and an implied threat, at the end of the letter, which is quite in keeping with the temporarily-revived position of the empire, due to the efforts of the famous Mirza Najaf"¹ Dr. P. C. Gupta of Calcutta (ex-vice-chancellor of Rabindra Bharati University) drew our attention to an account of the State of Delhi in "a narrative of the transactions of the Court of Delhi" from 1771 to 1779 written by Antoine Louis Henri Polier, a Swiss Engineer² in the Company's service, who was later on employed by the Nawab of Oudh and the Emperor. Dr. Gupta discovered a manuscript of this account in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta,³ and has compared it with a copy of the manuscript in the Orme Collection of the India Office Library, which he does not consider to be original, and holds that the copy in the Asiatic Society was written by Polier. Some years back the World Press, Calcutta, published my book on Shah Alam II and the East India Company which is a detailed biography of this unfortunate ruler.

Delhi affairs continued to be hopelessly confused. Mirza Najaf tried his best to regulate these for some years. But it was indeed a very hard task. Reviewing the situation about 1778, the historian of the Mughal Empire writes : "Within six years of Shah Alam's coming to Delhi his Government was relieved of the menace of the overgrown vassals who had usurped the lands round Delhi and so long successfully defied Mughal authority. The Ruhela who had seized the upper Doab was crushed partially in March, 1772 and completely in September, 1777 ; his fellow-clansmen of the trans-Ganges colonies had been extirpated in April, 1774 and rendered incapable of joining any pan-Afghan revolt against the Delhi throne ; the Jat Rajah had been shorn of all his enormous

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1953.

2. I have given a note on the Swiss Engineers in the service of the Company in my Introduction to Fort William-India-House Correspondence Vol. I. Dr. P. C. Gupta has written an account of Louis Polier's career in India, Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1945.

3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1944.

new acquisitions and turned into a petty zamindar worth only nine lakhs a year (April 1776). From 1775 to 1782 the dreaded Marathas were so heavily entangled in a contested succession at home and a war with the English abroad that they would not spare a single soldier for Hindustan.”¹

But this calmness and security were more apparent than real. The Sikhs again proved to be a disturbing factor in the north and west of Delhi. Further, the nominal Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam II, tossed by adverse circumstances, became extremely vacillating in nature and was easily liable to change sides. Mirza Najaf’s jealous rival, Abdul Ahad Khan, soon influenced him and instigated the enemies of the Mirza. To add to these, by 1778 Mirza Najaf was involved in troubles with Rao Pratap Singh of Macheri (Alwar), then in alliance with the Rajahs of Jaipur and Bharatpur. The English, whose sphere of influence had not yet extended beyond Oudh and whose position was still critical in view of the hostile attitude of Indian powers in western and southern India, and the machinations of their European enemies, the French and the Dutch, particularly after the outbreak of the War of American independence, naturally watched with anxiety the events in and round Delhi as is proved by correspondence between Nathaniel Middleton, their Resident at the court of the Nawab of Oudh, and the Calcutta Government, which I studied some years back.² The death of Mirza Najaf Khan, the last great regent of Delhi on the 6th April, 1782, aggravated confusion in the Government of the Delhi Empire. In this situation Shah Alam II and his different ministers made appeals to Warren Hastings for British assistance and protection. In response to these, the Governor-General sent Major James Browne on an exploratory mission to the Court of Delhi, and he remained there from August, 1782 to April, 1785. The object of this mission and Browne’s negotiations with the Emperor and

1. J. N. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire. Vol. III, p. 146.

2. Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol XXXVII, Parts 3-4, 1951.

some others at Delhi were studied by Sir Jadunath Sarkar several years back.¹ "Browne's embassy to Delhi", pointed out Sir Jadunath, "ended in nothing. But the student of the dying Mughal Empire will be failing in gratitude if he omits to recognise the service that Browne did to the history of this period. A master of the Persian and Hindustan tongues, he utilised his splendid opportunities at Lucknow, Agra and Delhi to collect a number of valuable Persian historical manuscripts and worked upon them, publishing the materials in his Indian Tracts, to which J.D. Cunningham and others are deeply indebted. During this embassy, he secured a manuscript of Kashirao's Persian narrative of the third battle of Panipat, his translation of which (printed in *The Asiatic Researches* in 1799) was our sole source of the event until recently". According to Scheme II of its Publication Programme, the National Archives of India published a critical edition of *Browne Correspondence* in 1960.

Perverse destiny drove Shah Alam II from one extremity to another and he was subjected to acute miseries in the metropolis of an Empire, which his ancestors had ruled, but of which nothing but a shadow then lingered to his great mortification. He had even to bear patiently severe bodily tortures, including blinding of his eye by the Ruhela Chief, Ghulam Qadir, who also heaped indignities on the members of the imperial family, including women and children, from 18th July to 2nd October, 1788.² In this period of dire calamity and unspeakable agonies the unfortunate Mughal Emperor sent appeals for help in different quarters, the most piteous one being to the Government of the English East India Company in Calcutta. Brief references to his appeals are found in *Cornwallis Correspondence* by Ross³ and in *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*.⁴ Sometime back I got some significant details from Shah Alam II's correspondence

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1937.

2. Details may be studied in J. N. Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, pp. 302-324 (second edition).

3. Vol. I (Second Edition, 1859), p. 307 and p. 364.

4. Vol. VIII.

at that time, particularly with the English, in some records of the National Archives, New Delhi.¹ This appeal of Shah Alam II like the other ones, elicited no favourable response. Political Consultations, dated 28th April 1788 ; preserved under the custody of the National Archives, New Delhi, contain correspondence between the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, and Mr. E. O. Ives, the Company's Resident at the Court of the Nawab of Oudh at Lucknow. Study of this correspondence disclosed to me one of the painful chapters in the career of the Imperial Prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah, eldest son of Emperor Shah Alam II. Owing to the disturbed state of affairs at Delhi, he fled from that place in April, 1784 and went away to Lucknow.² He placed himself under the virtual protection of the then Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and tried to secure his help in favour of his distressed father. Hastings persuaded Nawab Asafuddaulah of Oudh to allow him "a monthly subsidy of 33 333 rupees." But, for certain reasons, there was no love lost between Jahandar Shah and Asafuddaulah, and reconciliation between them seemed to be out of question. The Government of Lord Cornwallis acted cautiously in relation to Jahandar Shah. While their Resident at Lucknow persuaded the Oudh Nawab, though he "seemed to entertain an implacable resentment" against Jahandar Shah, to pay the latter a *peshkash* of rupees 3 lakhs per annum, he left no stone unturned to induce the Imperial Prince, to quit the Nawab of Oudh's territory, so that he might be at a "greater distance from scene of action in the upper Provinces." The Governor-General wanted him to stay at Rajmahal which, however, was not to his liking. He was destined to die soon at Benares.³ Dr. G. N. Saletore of Central Record Office, Allahabad, brought to light⁴ in 1953 an interesting Persian document

1. Shah Alam's Agony and Appeal in Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1948.

2. For an account of Jahandar Shah vide Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1937.

3. *Ibid*, 1949.

4. *Ibid*, 1953.

acquired by the U. P. Regional Records Survey Committee from Lucknow. The opening title of this fragmentary document is *Akhbar-Deorhi Nawab Asafuddaulah Bahadur* (i.e., Court-Bulletin or News-sheet of the portals of Nawab Asafuddaulah). But after a scrutiny of it Dr. Saletoe considered it "possible that this document is Court Bulletin of Prince Jahandar Shah rather than of Asafuddaulah." The available dates range from Friday, 10th December, 1784 to Sunday, 10th April, 1785.

I have noticed¹ how the cruelest stings of adversity drove Shah Alam II to exchange correspondence² with, and seek the help of Zaman Shah, ruler of Kabul, in 1796. The latter not only promised him assistance to be relieved of the restraints imposed upon him but also deputed to him a man named Ghulam Muhammad Khan to cement further the bond of friendship between them.

The year 1803 marked an important step in the development of British sovereignty in India. Delhi and the Delhi Emperor, Shah Alam II, passed under the absolute control of the English Company after Lord Lake's victories before that city in 1803. Both were significantly "reckoned among the most precious spoils of victory" of the English. Though the fiction of Mughal sovereignty still lingered, yet nothing could conceal the hard fact that the old Mughal Emperor was henceforth practically a captive till his death in 1806 in the metropolis of an empire that had in reality vanished. It was only as a matter of administrative convenience that the Company's Government in Calcutta now thought of making some provision for the maintenance of Shah Alam II and his family. So, as directed by the Governor-General, Mr. N. P. Edmonstone, Secretary to his Government, communicated certain instructions in this respect to Lt. Col. Ochterlony, Resident at Delhi, on the 17th November, 1804. I have

1. Proceedings Indian Historical Records Commission, December 1948, Silver Jubilee Session, held at Delhi.

2. Political Consultations, 5th December, 1796, Nos. 20-22.

studied¹ these in some records of the National Archives.

The fiction of the Mughal Raj was finally extinguished by Lord Hastings. Dr. Percival Spear (Fellow, Selwyn College, Cambridge) brought out in 1951 an original work, entitled *Twilight of the Mughals*, describing in it the condition of the 'Kingdom of Delhi' from after the third battle of Panipat till 1857. It is a highly valuable work. Yet, as I feel, a detailed account of the life led by the successors of Shah Alam II at Delhi till the last days of Bahadur Shah II should be attempted on the basis of various kinds of sources. As regards the writings of Indian scholars, some relevant facts have been mentioned in Mehta's *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*, and our attention has been recently drawn to stray references about Akbar II in some contemporary Persian Weekly, *Jam-i-Jahan-Numa*.² We have also come to know that a bound volume of a weekly newspaper, entitled *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, covering the years 1840-41, contains some interesting details about the personal life of Bahadur Shah II.³ Shri Krishan Lal Sachdeva promised a history of Delhi, 1803-1857, and in 1954 he contributed a paper on Akbar Shah II.⁴ I am engaged in writing a thesis on Shah Alam II and the English. My book on 'Shah Alam II and the East India Company' was published by the World Press, Calcutta, in 1965. In this volume I have critically reviewed the relations between the two.

History of Oudh is very much linked up with the political changes in northern India during the second half of the 18th century. A detailed account of the career of its important ruler, Shujauddaulah, who was also the Wazir of the Delhi Emperor, was presented to us, some years back, by Dr. A. L. Srivastava. In 1938 Dr. A. F. K. Rahman (then in Dacca

1. Bengal : Past and Present, 1948.

2. Delhi Diary of 1825 by Dr. H. R. Gupta in Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, December 1948 and Delhi Diary of 1828 by Shri Krishan Lal Sachdeva in Ibid, 1954.

3. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1958.

4. Ibid, 1954.

University) gave an estimate of Shujauddaulah's diplomacy from 1754 to 1771.¹ Dr. A.L. Srivastava examined the arrangements of the Benares Conference (September, 1773) between Shujauddaulah and Warren Hastings. These arrangements greatly influenced the policies of both, particularly in three respects, the transfer of Kora and Allahabad to Shujauddaulah, the stoppage of the Bengal *tribute* to Shah Alam II and the promise of military aid to Shujauddaulah against the Ruhelas.² A manuscript in the Orme collection of the India Office Library contains "some accounts of the transactions in the province of Oudh from 1st April to the end of June 1776." Its contents were brought to our notice by Dr. P. C. Gupta of Calcutta.³ The relations of Oudh with the East India Company during the administration of Warren Hastings have been discussed by prof. C.C. Davies of Oxford in his valuable work on *Warren Hastings and Oudh*. He has also edited the *Benares Diary of Warren Hastings*, which is an important source for the study of the transactions at that time between Shujauddaulah and Warren Hastings. Among the Indian scholars, Dr. Purnendu Basu wrote a few years back a volume (Ph. D. thesis of London University) on Anglo-Oudh relations from the time of Cornwallis to the days of Wellesley. We have something on Oudh after this in Mehta's *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*. A detailed and critical work on the history of Oudh from 1801 till its annexation in the time of Lord Dalhousie has been prepared by Shri Ansuman Mukherjee as a thesis for Ph. D. Degree of the Patna University. Shri A. A. Asmi (Aligarh Muslim University) has studied on *The Annexation of Oudh and its Consequences*.

Since the conclusion of the treaty of Allahabad in August, 1765, the English East India Company's Government in Calcutta sought to use Oudh as a buffer state against the apprehended incursions of the Maratha and the Afghans.

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.
2. Ibid, 1944.
3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1946.

Not to speak of Warren Hastings, even Cornwallis and Shore, who were required to follow the policy of non-intervention as laid down in clause 34 of Pitt's India Act, interfered in Oudh affairs. After the death of Asafuddaulah in 1797, Shore intervened in the matter of disputed succession between Wazir Ali, whom Asafuddaulah had acknowledged as his successor, and the deceased Nawab's brother S'aadat Ali. He raised the latter to the throne and concluded a treaty with him on the 21st January, 1798, which considerably enhanced the Company's influence. Some original records relating to the accession of S'aadat Ali to the *masnad* of Oudh were brought to our notice in 1940 by Mr. G. R. Gurbax.¹ Wazir Ali was allowed to reside at Benares on an annual pension of a lac and a half of rupees. Dissatisfied with this arrangement he soon tried to organise an all-India conspiracy. This subject was studied by me on the basis of some unpublished English letters,² which disclosed that Wazir Ali had some confederates in Bihar and that he also sent agents even to Calcutta, Dacca and Murshidabad, probably with a view to combining with Nawab Nasir-ul-mulk of Murshidabad and his brother-in-law Shamsuddaulah, who too had been engaged in a plot against the Company and had deputed an agent to Zaman Shah, ruler of Kabul. A modern writer has pointed out that Wazir Ali further negotiated with Raja Ambaji Ingle "for the purpose of establishing such a friendship with Ambaji and through him with Doulut Row Sindea (Daulat Rao Sindhia) as should enable Wazir Ali to regain the dominion of Oudh."³ In fact, some of the disaffected Muslim rulers and nobles were then trying to secure the help of Zaman Shah in order to restore their lost authority. Wazir Ali was captured in the month of December, 1799 and was carried to Calcutta where he spent his days as a captive till his death in 1817. The Company's Government continued to keep strict watch

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1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.
 2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1947.
 3. Wazir Ali's intrigues with Ambaji Ingle by Mr. K. D. Bhargava in Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955.

on the members of his family and made arrangements for their residence and maintenance in Bihar, as I indicated in a paper written in 1950.¹ I also pointed out in another paper² how S'aadat Ali's two brothers, Shahmat Ali and Mirza Mendoo, who could not reconcile themselves to the rule of S'aadat Ali, were expelled by the latter from his dominions towards the end of 1807, obtained protection of the Company's Government and were permitted by them to reside at Patna, which had then become a refuge also for some other exiles from the Oudh Court. Two such persons were Raja Jhao Lal and Baluk Ram, about whose stay in Bihar I have written an account.³ Both the brothers of S'aadat Ali were kept at Patna under the close supervision and control of the local Magistrate, and they could not move to any other place according to their own desire. A paper of mine on *Rajah Jhao Lal* appeared in an issue of the Journal of the Bihar Research Society and I have also written about the condition of the family of Wazir Ali in Bihar after his capture.⁴ In 1955 Sri Safi Ahmad obtained Ph.D. Degree of the Lucknow University on his thesis on "Two Kings of Awadh, Muhammad Ali Shah and Amjad Ali Shah (1837-1847)." From 1976 Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, retired Professor of History, Jadavpur University has begun writing "A Study of Eighteenth Century India."

In the miscellaneous records of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, preserved in the National Archives, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad discovered in 1942 a manuscript volume, entitled "*An Abstract of the Political Intercourse between the British Government and the Kingdom of Oudh.*" The author of this Narrative, written probably in the latter half of the year 1835, was Captain Paton, who was Assistant to the Resident of Oudh for several years and who held the charge of the Residency and performed "the duties

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1950.

2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1959.

3. Journal of the Bihar Research Society.

4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1950.

of Resident at Lucknow" in 1834 and possibly in 1835.¹ Dr Shri Nandan Prasad (Defence Ministry, Historical Research Section, New Delhi) examined in detail the Oudh Treaty of September 1847, which, as the writer noted, "was important as incorporating an agreed arrangement for correcting the growing misrule in Oudh without having recourse to annexation" and which in 1856 formed a matter of controversy.² This writer concluded that "the treaty of 1837 was still in force in 1856 when Oudh was annexed." Shri G. D. Bhatangar presented an account of *Some aspects of Oudh administration under Wajid Ali Shah*.³ Some years back Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid of Aligarh threw new light on the *Judicial administration of Oudh during the time of Wajid Ali Shah* (1847-68) on the authority of a contemporary work, *Mirat-ul-Ausa*, written by one Lalji whose family was associated with the kingdom of Oudh. He considers it to be a valuable original source for the study of the history of the Nawabs of Oudh.⁴ Shri Raj Bakshi (Lucknow) is preparing a thesis on *King Wajid Ali Shah, 1856-1888*. Shri Gaurishwar Dayal Bhatnagar got Ph. D. Degree of the Lucknow University for his thesis on *Oudh under Wajid Ali Shah, 1847-1856* and Dr. K. C. Nigam was also awarded Ph.D. Degree of the Lucknow University for his thesis on *Ghazi-ud-din Haidar*. The following works relating to Oudh are under preparation:—Shri Uma Shankar Singh (Banaras) on *Oudh and the East India Company*, Shri Ramlakhan S. Tiwary (Bombay) on the *Genesis of the Anglo-Oudh relations*, Shri S. P. Mathur (Agra) on *Oudh in the days of Nawab Asafuddaulah*, and Shri Aniruddha Gupta (Lucknow) on *Oudh and its Foreign Policy, 1764-1856* and Ikramuddin Qidwai (Lucknow) on *Life at the Court of Oudh, 1722-1798*.

By a critical examination of Lord Canning's policy towards the Taluqdars of Oudh after the movement of 1857, Dr.

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1942.
2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1950.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955.

Nandalal Chatterjee pointed out in 1941 the unsoundness of the view that Lord Canning was "the best friend of the landlords of Oudh." The writer's opinion is that Lord Canning wanted to wipe out the baronial class of Oudh but was prevented from carrying out his drastic policy by Lord Ellenborough, who in his capacity as President of the Board of Control "made a timely intervention in their favour."¹ The writer discussed after a few years the subject of the "*Settlement of the Waste Lands in Oudh after the Mutiny.*" The matter was finally settled in 1870 and a set of regulations was framed for purposes of lease and sale of waste lands.²

In 1952-53 Shri Shilendra Kumar Singh (then a Research Fellow in the Agra University) published an account of the relations of Minto, Baillie (the Company's Resident of Lucknow) and S'aadat Ali, 1807-1813, in several instalments.³ In conclusion he writes : "Minto's conduct in his relations with Oudh shows clearly how radically he had broken off from the traditions of non-intervention which Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow had tried to establish. The pendulum in its swing had reached the edge where it was kept by Lord Wellesley. Minto was clear that Oudh was a subordinate power and he, therefore, felt justified in interfering in its affairs whenever it suited his convenience and British interests. If the Nawab opposed his wishes, in the first place he was to be persuaded to confirm and obey, but if necessary Minto was prepared to go full length and compel the poor potentate. The right of might could not be challenged."

Situated between the Company's dominion in Bengal and Bihar, and Oudh, the kingdom of Benares was naturally involved in the relations between the two. We get incidental references about it in works like Strachey's *Hastings and the Rohilla War*, Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* and Prof. Davies' *Warren Hastings and Oudh*. Its

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1941.

2. Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1948.

3. Journal of Indian History, December, 1952, April, August and December, 1958.

detailed history from the year 1764, with an account of its relations with the English East India Company, is yet to be prepared. Shri Kashi Prasad Shrivastava (Allahabad) has studied the *History and Administration of Benares Province from 1775-1810*. Sri Suprakash Sannyal of Maharaja Manindra Chandra College, Calcutta, is engaged in the preparation of a thesis on *Anglo-Benares Relations*. Some articles on the history of Benares are :—

(a) *Sidelights on the history of Benares, Political and Social, thrown by the Selections from the Peshwa Daftari* by Dr. K. R. Qanungo.¹

(b) *Chait Singh and Hastings* by Prof. S. H. Askari, Prof. Askari has made an attempt to throw fresh light on certain aspects of the Chait Singh affair on the basis of three contemporary sources in Persian—*Bulwantnamah* of Ghulam Hussain Khan, *Tuja-i-Taza* of Khairuddin Muhammed and *Miftah-i-Khazvin* of Shambhunath. These writers were intimately associated with the affairs of Benares and Oudh and actually participated in some of the transactions described by them. Their accounts contain some interesting and important facts, not recorded elsewhere. They agree ‘in all points such as the origin of Hastings’ hatred and spirit of revenge in the belief of Chait Singh’s complicity with the hostile majority in the Supreme Council, the Governor-General’s harassing tactics, vexatious demands and unjust arrest and overthrow of the Raja, despite the latter’s innocence of many of the charges brought against him and his submissive, even servile, attitude and his anxiety not to cause any offence to Hastings. The writers while exposing the ignoble transactions in which the Company’s officers then could enter for monetary gains, praise the high ethical standard and sympathetic attitude of men like Vansittart, and while emphasising the innocence of the Raja and his unjust victimization at the hands of Hastings, Graham, Markham.

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1937.
2. Ibid. 1954.

and their hirelings, like Ausan Singh, the Chobdar, Maulavis etc., have not refrained from delineating the weak character of the Raja, who has been described as an inexperienced, wavering, extravagant, timid and coward man." The influence of Chait Singh's insurrection was felt on the neighbouring province of Bihar, where he had some sympathisers. Some of the Bihar zaminders, discontented with the English Company, rose against it and espoused the cause of Chait Singh. There were some references to it in an old work by Hand, entitled *Early English administration in Bihar*. Recently I discovered some relevant records in the Shahabad Collectorate which contain ample details regarding the disturbance in Bihar in the wake of Chait Singh's rising. In their race for political supremacy in India the English had to reckon with the hostilities of the French and the Dutch till both were overpowered by them. Though several volumes have been written in the past on the activities of the different European Companies in India during the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, more detailed studies relating to these on the basis of newly discovered sources in different languages are still due. Reference may be made in this connection to two works which came out during the last few years. One written by me on *The Dutch in Bengal and Bihar 1740-1825* A.D. was published by the University of Patna in 1948. Another learned work, based on a comprehensive study of French sources, is *The French in India* by Dr. S.P. Sen.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century political ambition of the old European rivals of the English in India were extinguished and most of the Indian powers had been brought under British control. But beyond the limits already reached by British authority, there were powers on the western, northern and eastern limits, whose thorough subjugation was necessary for the establishment of an all-India British empire on a firm and secure basis. This naturally involved a process of imperial expansion by the British, which brought them into conflicts with the Sikhs,

the Sindhia, the Pathan and Baloch tribes of the north-west frontier and the Afghans beyond the Khyber Pass, with Nepal on the north and with the Assamese and the Burmese on the east. As for the Sikhs till the close of the career of their great chief Ranjit Singh, we have the valuable works of Dr. N. K. Sinha. In his *Rise of the Sikh Power* he traced the fortunes of the Sikhs from about 1738-39. He wrote an exhaustive and a critical account of Ranjit Singh's career and activity (second edition 1945) after a careful re-examination of the old materials used by Cunningham, Lepel Griffin and Latif, and a study of unpublished materials from various sources, particularly from the National Archives of India.

In his concluding review of Ranjit Singh's career the learned author has significantly observed : "the one great external cause of Ranjit's failure is found in his relations with the British Government. Very early in his career he had entered into a treaty with the British Government. But in almost all cases, as Bismarck has put it, a political alliance, means a rider and a horse. In this Anglo-Sikh alliance, the British Government was the rider and Ranjit was the horse. The English limited Ranjit's power on the east, on the south, and would have limited him on the west if that were possible. Evidently a collision between his military monarchy and British imperialism was imminent. Ranjit Singh, the Massinissa of British Indian History, hesitated and hesitated forgetting that in politics as in war time is not on the side of the defensive. When the crash came after his death under far less able men, chaos and disorder had already supervened and whatever hope there had been when he was living there was no more when he was dead. In his relations with the British Government, Ranjit Singh is seen at his worst. He never grandly dared. He was all hesitancy and indecision."

But at the same time we must acknowledge that Ranjit's failure was inherent in the very logic of events. "All causes that were not the causes of Rome were destined to be lost. The central power once dominant, could

grow and all the outside forces could only shelter themselves against Rome as enemies or augment the strength of Rome as vassals. This remark about Roman Imperialism is true of British Imperialism in India as well."

Within a few years after the death of Ranjit in 1839, the inexorable logic of events led to the annexation of his country by the British. The contemporary parliamentary papers and the Punjab Government Records are full of information on this phase of Sikh History. As regards the recent writings of Indian scholars we may note that the causes of the First Anglo-Sikh War were critically examined by the late Dr. I. Banerjee (for some years Head of the History Department, Calcutta University) in an article published in the Calcutta Review of 1944. He observed that "to blame the Army alone for the coming catastrophe is as unjust as it is untrue ; on the contrary, the soldiery were possibly the only party in the State who wanted to stave off the coming disaster. As rude and untutored men they might often have acted in mad and barbarous ways but the real tragedy was that none among the leaders could perceive that in the reawakened spirit of the Khalsa there was a great weapon, which, properly handled, might have rehabilitated the tottering Raj. But most of the chiefs, Sikh and non-Sikh, with their own vested interests to protect, desired nothing less than a British protectorate over the Punjab and could only think of edging the Army on to destruction. But the question arises as to why the Army, which had become its own master and which was guided solely by the decisions of its *Panchayats*, listened to the exhortations of such mercenary men as Lal Singh and Tej Singh, who had now become respectively the Wazir and the Commander-in-Chief. The *Panchayats* knew quite well that since the accession of Sher Singh, the chiefs now of one faction and then of another, had been intriguing for British intervention and it cannot be said that they received no encouragement at all from the other side. It was this apprehension, more than anything else, that had lead the *Panchayats* to gather the reins of powers in their own hands and

it seems rather strange that they now readily listened to the advice of leaders, whom they both distrusted and despised. No doubt their known hatred of the English was played upon and their cupidity excited by visions of plunder in the rich cities of Hindusthan, but what has been said above about the role that the Army took upon itself makes it doubtful whether these alone would have been enough to lead the *Panchayats* to decree an invasion of British India. It should not be forgotten that when the Sikh soldiery crossed the Sutlej, rightly or wrongly, they believed that they were going out on a defensive war and that their country was about to be invaded." Dr. I. Banerjee had contributed earlier¹ a paper on the "*The Kashmir Rebellion and the Trial of Raja Lal Singh*" By Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, concluded on the 9th March, 1846, Maharaja Dalip Singh "ceded to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent of one crore of rupees, all his forts, territories, rights, and interests, in the hill countries, which are situated between the rivers Beas and Indus, including the province of Kashmir and Hazara." By separate treaty with Maharaja Gulab Singh, the East India Company, in return for seventy five lacs of rupees, "transferred and made over, for ever, in independent possession, to the said Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs made of his body, all the hills, or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahor State according to provisions of article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846." Gulab Singh anticipated that he would get possession of Kashmir without any difficulty. But he received a rude shock when the transfer of Kashmir to him was resented by some. In the month of October, 1846, Shaikh Imamuddin, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, rose against Gulab Singh at the instigation of Vizir Lal Singh.

1. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1939.

This insurrection was put down by a strong British force ; Lal Singh was tried by a formal Court of Enquiry and his guilt being proved he was dismissed from the ministership and deported to Benares. A new treaty was signed on the 16th December, 1816, which made the British the real masters of the Punjab. Cunningham's chapters on Anglo-Sikh relations, which have a permanent value for students of history, were reprinted by Dr. A. C. Banerjee of Calcutta¹ with notes and an introduction containing short accounts about the Sikhs till the annexation of the Punjab by the British.

In 1939 Sardar Ganda Singh contributed a paper on the treaty concluded on the 31st March, 1785, between the Sikh Sardars and Ambaji Ingle, agent of Mahadaji Sindhia. Ambaji forwarded the terms of the treaty to Mahadaji for his approbation. In the meanwhile, Lieut. James Anderson the British Resident with Mahadaji Sindhia, Colonel Sir John Cumming, the officer commanding the detachment of the Company's troops on the frontier, and Major Palmer, the Resident at Lucknow, had been reporting to Government in Calcutta their views about the Treaty. "They saw in its materialisation a danger to the political interests of the East India Company and to the territories of their friend, the Nawab Vizir of Oudh. Therefore, they directed their efforts towards its nullification by whatever means it could be brought about." Mahadaji soon forced the Sikh *sardars* to amend the terms of treaty and a new definite Treaty was concluded on the 10th May, 1785. But the Sikh *sardars* were unhappy at this, particularly because of the detention of their ambassador Sardar Dulcha Singh by Mahadaji Sindhia. So they decided to break away from Mahadaji and opened negotiations with the British officers. The Calcutta Government did not like Maratha-Sikh alliance and conveyed necessary instructions to Sir John Cumming. They wanted to keep the two disunited for their own interest. In fact, the

1. Publish by A. Mukherjee and Co., Calcutta, in May 1949.

treaties of Mahadaji Sindhia with the Sikhs and the proposed Anglo-Sikh alliance in 1785 "fell through and did not come to fruition."¹ Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe pointed out in an article² that "it was during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh that the Marathas under Yaswant Rao Holkar received from the Sikhs such powerful support as compelled the British Government to restore a large part of the territories sequestered from Maharaja Yaswant Rao Holkar by the Treaty of Bias." In 1940 Sardar Ganda Singh threw new light on the circumstances leading to the conclusion of the Treaty of Bhyrowal (December 16, 1846) by studying some private letters of Sir Henry Hardinge.³ In about two years after that Dr. G. L. Chopra (then Keeper of Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore) wrote a paper in which he tried to examine all available evidence, with a view to arriving at a definite conclusion, about the tragic death of Kunwar Nau Nihal Singh. His conclusion was: "We must acquit the Dogras of having ever conceived or committed this supposed crime which was really an unfortunate accident and nothing else."⁴ In 1948, Sardar Ganda Singh (then Professor of History, Khalsa College, Amritsar) drew our attention to some letters of Maharaja Daleep Singh, which throw much light on the history of his career after the annexation of the Punjab and deal with the following topics :

- (a) *Disillusionment of Maharaja "that he had been cheated out of his kingdom and out of the private estates which his father had possessed."*
- (b) *Details of the ancestral private estates and property that he had inherited from his father, not as ruler of the kingdom of Lahore, but as a Sardar and head of the Sukkar-Chakkia family.*
- (c) *The Maharaja's differences with the British Government in England and India on the interpretation of the terms of the Treaty of March 29, 1894, in respect of*

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.

2. Ibid,

3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.

4. Ibid., 1942.

1. *The confiscation of his private estate, jewels, and other property, of which there is no mention in the Treaty and*

2. *the amount of pension payable to him.*

(d) *Restrictions as to the place of his residence in India after he had decided to leave England for good and settle down permanently in India.*

(e) *His arrest and detention at Aden without a warrant and his public renunciation of Christianity in favour of the faith of his father.¹*

Next year Dr. Sri Nandan Prasad (then working in the Historical Research Section, Defence Ministry, Simla) wrote on the nature and circumstances of the Punjab Rising of 1848. He observed in conclusion that "the factors mainly responsible for the Punjab outbreaks of 1848 were the policy of the Government of India, the resultant discontent among the soldiery and series of fortuitous mischances,"² In 1950 Sardar Ganda Singh discovered and collected three letters of Maharani Jind Kaur (popularly known as *Mai Jiban*) for the Sikh History Research Department of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, which throw much light on the story of her tragic fate, her incarceration in the fort of Lahore, her removal from there to the fort of Sheikhpura as a state prisoner and her ultimate banishment from the Punjab (1846-47)³

In 1949 came out a book, entitled "*Circumstances leading to the Annexation of the Punjab 1846-49*" by Shri Jagmohan Mahajan (*Kitabistan, Allahabad*), Utilising fresh information, particularly from the Currie correspondence, the author critically examined the circumstances under which the British annexed the Punjab and their real motives behind it. He tried to prove that there was no evidence to charge Mulraj with the first attack on or the subsequent murder of Agnew and Anderson. Dalhousie was, in fact, determined to destroy the Sikh power and to annex its kingdom. "The task before me", he wrote to Henry Lawrence on the 15th October,

1. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1948,
2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1949.
3. Ibid., 1950.

1848, is "the utter destruction and prostration of the Sikh power, the subversion of its dynasty and the subjection of its people. This must be done promptly, fully and finally."

In 1950 Shri Sita Ram Kohli (then Principal of the Ranbir College, Jind State, Pepsu) studied a manuscript, entitled "*Fateh Namah Guru Khalsa Ji ka*" and containing three long ballads, composed by one Ganesh Das to celebrate the three important victories won by the Sikhs over the Pathans, at Multan in 1818 A.D., near Tiri Hills (Naushehra) in 1823, and at Saidu near Akora on the banks of the river Lunda in 1827. Comparing this work with some contemporary historical works, Principle Kohli wrote that its "accuracy is unchallengeable"¹. For the Peshawar Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held in 1945, Dr. I. Banerjee (then Professor of History, Calcutta University) indicated in his paper on *Nau Nihal Singh and the Nepalese Mission to Lahore* that "some sort of negotiations were going on between the Courts of Lahore and Nepal". In 1954² Dr. Hari Ram Gupta (Professor of History, Punjab University) wrote a paper on *Sikh-Nepal Relations 1839-40*, in which he tried to show how the Court of Nepal was keen on establishing diplomatic relations with the Lahore *Darbar*, but the British Government closely watched their proceedings and prevented the formation of any alliance between the two. Recently³ Shri Sita Ram Kohli gave an account of a trained Infantry Battalion in the Punjab, on the basis of some papers preserved in the state Records Office at Simla. It was Ranjit Singh who first introduced the employment of trained infantry in the Punjab armies. He persuaded his *jagirdars* to do so, and the writer, referred to above, deals with the trained infantry battalion of one of those chiefs, Sardar Hari Singh Nawla. He has also brought to light a document, which was drawn up on the 27th November, 1840, to settle the preliminaries connected with the question of succession to the Lahore

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1950.

2. Ibid., 1954.

3. Ibid., 1955.

throne on the death of Prince Nau Nihal Singh.¹ Shri M. L. Ahluwalia (National Archives of India) has reviewed in a paper the rule of *Mai Chand Kaur*² who succeeded as the Maharani of the Kingdom of Lahore after the death of her husband Maharaja Kharak Singh. The writer has made an attempt "to throw further light on the circumstances which brought forward a lady to claim the throne of Lahore for herself, as against prince Sher Singh, a reputed son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the consequent rivalry between Raja Dhyan Singh, the famous *dogra* Chief Minister of Lahore, and the Sindhanwalia brothers Attar Singh, Lehna Singh and Ahit Singh ; the part played in the above drama by Raja Gulab Singh, the *dogra* Governor of Jammu and the elder brother of Raja Dhyan Singh, and lastly the weakening of the civil authority and the increasing interference of the military in the affairs of the civil administration. In other words it was during this period that the seeds of the future disintegration of the Kingdom of Lahore were sown which could not survive for more than ten years after the death of its founder in 1839". From a study of some records of the National Archives of India, he also contributed a paper³ on *Sher Singh and the First war of succession for the Lahore Throne, 1841*. Further, Shri M. L. Ahluwalia has written a thesis on *Foreign Policy of the sikh Darbar, 1800-1849*, and Shri Barket Ram Chopra (Punjab) also prepared a thesis on Kingdom of the Punjab, 1839-1845. Shri Suraj Narain Rao (Punjab) has prepared a thesis on *Cis-Sutlej States, 1800-1839*. Reference may be made to works on the *Sikh Army* by Sri Sita Ram Kohli, Punjab News-Letters, 1844, by Dr. Hari Ram Gupta and to some works of Dr. Ganda Singh, viz., (i) *A Short History of the Sikhs 1469-1765*. Vol. I (Orient Longmans Ltd., Bombay , 1950). (2) *Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Historical Background (Directorate of Archives, Patiala, 1951)*, (3) *A Bibliography of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union*, (4) Ahmad

1. Ibid., 1956.
2. Ibid., 1955.
3. Ibid., 1956.

Shah Durrani—His Life and Work. Shri Chandan Gupta (Punjab) Shri G. A. Chabra (Punjab), Shri Fauja Singh (Delhi), Shri Gurubaksh Singh (Punjab), Shri Gurucharan Singh (Punjab), Shri Jati Ram Gupta (Punjab), Shri Karam Singh (Punjab), Shri Krishna Narain Malik (Delhi), Shri Mahesh Chandra (Punjab), Shri Nirmal Kanta (Punjab), Capt. C. L. Vasudeva (Punjab), Shri Ram Sahai Mathur (old Pepsu Archives) and Shri Jogendra Singh (Punjab), respectively devoted themselves to studies regarding *Position of Women under the Sikh Rule*, *Social and Economic History of the Punjab, 1849-1901*, *Military and Political Activities of Ranjit Singh*, *History of the Sikhs, 1849-1947*, *Administration of the Punjab, 1849-1947*, *Social and Economic History of the Punjab under the Sikhs 1800-1849*, *Circumstances leading to the First Sikh War*, *Public Administration in the Punjab, 1848-1919*, *Social and Economic conditions in the Punjab* Shri V. S. Suri, Keeper of Records, Government of the Punjab, has carefully studied some original documents relating to the *Kabul War* (February 1837 to September 1840)¹. In 1959 Dr. Dilip Kumar Ghose contributed an original paper based on archival records, analysing therein the measures recommended by the Defence Committee for the defence of India's North-West Frontier in 1887.² Shri Ganga Prasad Tripathi (Delhi University) has prepared a thesis on *Indo-Afghan Relations (1882-1907)*.

On the merit of the thesis, entitled 'The Character and Impact of the Singh Sabha Movement' Shri Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon obtained the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Punjabi University, Patiala in 1973. This thesis presents an account of the character and impact of the Singh Sabha Movement, which was an important phenomenon in modern history of the Sikhs. It contains eleven chapters, besides some appendices, bibliography, glossary and a list of abbreviations. Chapter I is a general background about socio-cultural movements in India during the nineteenth century. In Chapter II the candidate has traced the

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1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1960.
 2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1959.

beginnings of Sikh resurgence after the demoralisation of the Sikhs in the time of Ranjit Singh though then they emerged as 'a strong political power'. Things became worse after British annexation of the Punjab. The Nirankari and Namdhari movements tried to introduce social reforms and social regeneration among the Sikhs. But these had certain limitations which have been pointed out by the candidate. In Chapter III origin and development of the Singh Sabha Movement and its ideological aspects have been discussed. "The founding of the Singh Sabha at Amritsar (July 28, 1873)", the candidate observes, "was an epoch-making event in the history of social and religious reform of the Sikhs. Inspired by the sublimity of a great ideal and nurtured by a band of devoted and dynamic leaders, the Singh Sabha became a vital force in bringing a new consciousness among the Sikh masses". He has traced the career of its leaders, Baba Khem Singh Bedi, Thakur Singh Sandhawalia, Kanwar Bikaram Singh of Kapurthala, and Giani Gian Singh of Amritsar. He has also mentioned the objects of the Singh Sabha, Amritsar, as follows :

- "(i) To restore Sikhism to its pristine purity ;
- (ii) To edit and publish historical and religious books ;
- (iii) To propagate current knowledge, using Punjabi as medium, and to start magazines and newspapers in Punjabi ;
- (iv) To reform and bring into the Sikh fold those who had diverged from the right path through heresy, anti-social activity or political bias ;
- (v) To interest the highly placed English in, and ensure their association with the educational programme of the Singh Sabha, and
- (vi) To cultivate loyalty to the Crown."

But, as he notes, the "enthusiasm, with which the Singh Sabha came into being, did not last long due to some vested interests aspiring for the fulfilment of their personal ambitions" and a separate organisation called the Lahore Sabha came into existence on November 2, 1879. "Whereas the appeal of the

Amritsar Singh Sabha was mostly confined to the urban areas, that of the Lahore Singh Sabha went further and touched the hearts of the general mass of the community.” The candidate has pointed out the formation of another organisation, that is, the Diwan Khalsa, in April 1883, with its headquarters at Amritsar. The Khalsa Diwan “undertook the task of co-ordinating the activities of its various units (Singh Sabhas), which were rapidly springing up all over the land”. Another organisation which “challenged the supremacy of the Chief Khalsa Diwan was the Central Diwan”, established in 1909. But certain factors led to the unpopularity of the Singh Sabha Movement in the second decade of the present century and “the leadership of the Singhs passed from the hands of the Singh Sabha to the Akhalis.”

Constitutional aspects in the origin and development of the Singh Sabha have been described in Chapter IV. In Chapter V religious reform, which formed “the most important part” of the Singh Sabha Movement, has been discussed, and the candidate writes that the “greatest contribution of the Singh Sabha in the field of religious reform lies in giving a fresh interpretation to the Sikh Doctrines” by eliminating the influences of other factors. “The orientation, imparted by the Singh Sabha reformers to the contemporary Sikh thought”, the candidate adds, “was of momentous importance and went a long way in settling many long-standing controversies, that were agitating the minds of the people. They presented a new ideal of Sikhism, based on the teachings of the Gurus, which became fundamental to the understanding of the true nature of Sikh religion and removed all doubts regarding the identity of the Khalsa.” The contributions of the Singh Sabha Movement for social reform among the Sikhs have been studied in Chapter VI. The social reforms were elimination of caste distinctions, removal of untouchability, improvement in the condition of the low-caste Sikhs and prevention of their conversion into other faiths, and emancipation of women through spread of female education, introduction of widow remarriage, removal of purdah and abolition of infanticide,

polygamy and child-marriage. Achievements and contributions of the Singh Sabha Movement in the field of education have been reviewed in Chapter VII. "The most significant achievement of the Singh Sabha in the field of education" the candidate rightly points out, "was the establishment of the Khalsa College at Amritsar in 1892". He regards the activities of the Panch Khalsa Diwan Bhasur in the field of education worthy of "a special mention". He also discusses the importance of the Sikh Educational Conferences for promoting the cause of education. In Chapter VIII we get an account of the development of the Punjabi language and literature under the Singh Sabha Movement. The factors which helped it have been carefully analysed and a detailed description has been given of the various works of literature produced through the efforts of the Singh Sabha Movement.

Attitude of the Singh Sabha Movement in relation to the Government forms the subject matter of Chapter IX. At first it was one of mutual "trust and co-operation". "The British co-operation", the candidate writes, "became a prime factor, for the Khalsa Diwans of Lahore and Amritsar, to carry out reforms". But since the beginning of the twentieth century the old co-operation "no longer prevailed between the Singh Sabha leaders and the British Government" due to several factors. Within a few years "under the leadership of the Akalis, the Sikhs came into open clash with the Government, first for the liberation of their shrines and then for the liberation of their land". Chapter X is a description of the relation of the Singh Sabha Movement with the other communities. Here the candidate should have been more critical and purely historical. The Brahmo Samaj and the Ramkrishna Mission were not "ultimately reduced to petty cults or sects" as he has written in the concluding Chapter .

Punjab in the 19th century, Sikh-Afghan Relations under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1800-1839, Part played by the Punjabis in British Indian Army, 1849-1947, Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind, History of the Sikhs, 1845-1849. Mention may also be made of works like

Decline of the Sikh Empire, 1839-45 by Shri B. R. Chopra, *Military System of the Sikhs during the first half of the nineteenth century* by Shri Fajua Singh (Ph. D thesis of the Delhi University), *Social legislation in the Punjab* by Shri Iqbal Nath Chaudhuri (Punjab), *Administration of the Punjab under the Lahore Darbar, 1801-1849*, by Shri Nand Kishore Seth (Punjab) *Freedom Movement in the Punjab 1801-1901*, by Shri Kripal Singh (S. H. R. D. Khalsa College, Amritsar). An article on '*The Tragedy of Maharaja Duleep Singh*' by Shri Balwant Singh appeared in the *Indian Review* of March, 1957. Two interesting papers on *Some Facts behind the Second Anglo Sikh War* have been contributed by Shri M. L. Ahluwalia¹ on the authority of some unpublished records. In 1967 Dr Trilochan Singh wrote a detailed and critical biography of Guru Teg Bahadur.

Along with the history of the Punjab one must try to understand the history of Sind during the later years of the eighteenth century, its relations with the Afghans and the Sikhs and its conquest by the British. In his book on *British Policy Towards Sind up to the Annexation* (published in 1941), Shri P. N. Khera (then Lecturer, D. A. V. College, Sothapur) tried to trace the relations of the British Indian Government with Sind from the earliest connections in the seventeenth century to the annexation in the middle of the nineteenth. In the *Foreward* to this book, Dr. Sir Sha'afat Ahmad Khan observed that "Mr. Khera's treatment of a highly controversial subject is essentially Judicious and temperate and his analysis of the treaties contracted by the British Government with the Amirs of Sind is marked by a spirit of powerful moderation and sane criticism". Some years back Mr. Gope R. Gur-Bux (Hyderabad-Sind) began to study the history of Sind. In 1939 he wrote a paper on *Some historical records relating to Sind*² and drew our attention to the value of some Persian and Arabic manuscripts for

1. Proceedings, Indian History Records Commission 1960-61,
2. Ibid., 1939

studying the history of Sind. In the same year Mr. K.A. Chishtic (then of Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi) examined the motives and results of Lord Ellenborough's policy relating to Sind. In 1941¹ Miss B. M. Batliwala (Bombay) contributed a paper discussing therein *Contemporary Press attack on Lord Ellenborough's policy towards Sind.*

The mid-eighteenth century political revolutions made the English masters of Bengal and Bihar. But the defence of Oudh, situated on the north-west frontier of Bihar, became from 1764-65 a vital matter for the English East India Company, who dreaded till the close of the eighteenth century an Afghan dash towards the east. The Afghan bid for supremacy from the middle of the eighteenth century, on the dismemberment of the Mughal empire, was then a potent factor in the history of this country. So a clash between the Afghans and the English, who also were seeking to build up their own dominion at the cost of the moribund Mughal empire, lay almost in the logic of history, as was the case with the Afghan-Maratha collision of 1761. It was favourable for the English that owing to troubles at home after the battle of Panipat in 1761, Ahmad Shah Abdali could not push further east. After the death of Ahmad Shah Abdali in June, 1773, his second son Timur Shah seized the throne. He was too weak and indolent to pursue the vigorous policies of his father. But Timur's son and successor Zaman Shah, who was an able ruler, cherished the ambition of invading India like Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. Though some writers, old and new, have expressed the view that an invasion of India by Zaman Shah at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century had not much chance of success in view of the changed political circumstances, the Company's government in Calcutta could then consider "the idea of an invasion from Kabul (Kabul) as a more visionary danger". As I have already pointed out, some discontented rulers and chiefs ought Zaman Shah's alliance, and "from northern Oudh and from southern Mysore

1. Ibid., 1941.

had gone forth invitations to the Afghan monarch".¹ It is true that the prospect of Zaman Shah's invasion of India "kept the British Indian Empire in a chronic state of unrest during the administration of Sir John Shore and Lord Wellesley".² Dundas, President of the Board of Control, who was confirmed in the "belief of his (Zaman Shah's) hostile designs", wrote to Lord Wellesley to keep a very watchful eye upon the motions of that prince, whose talents, military force, and pecuniary resources, afford to him the means of being a formidable opponent".³ To counteract the apprehended invasion of Zaman Shah, Wellesley not only maintained a British force in Oudh under Sir J. Craig for defence of that kingdom, but also sent two missions in 1799 to Persia, whose relations with Afghanistan were then strained. The pressure of Persian military operation against Afghanistan forced Zaman Shah to retire from Lahore to Peshawar to the great relief of the English Company's Government. Revolts at home, due chiefly to the quarrels between the Sadozais (members of the royal family) and the Barakzais under Payendesh Khan and his eldest son, Fateh Khan, caused the overthrow of Zaman Shah, who being blinded fled to Bukhara, then to Herat and ultimately to India. Here at Ludhiana the once "dreaded Afghan monarch whose threatened invasion of Hindustan had for many years been a ghastly phantom hunting the council-chamber of the British Indian Government" survived his blindness for many years under pathetic conditions bearing with deep mortification his successor's misfortunes.

Zaman Shah's removal threw the kingdom of Afghanistan into a welter of disorder and confusion, aggravated by strifes of the rival claimants for the throne. Mahmud Shah (brother of Zaman Shah, ruler from 1800-1803), Shah Shuja, a grandson of Ahmad Shah Durrani, and Dost Muhammad, an able member of the Barakzai clan. The course of European politics from the early years of the nineteenth

1. Kaye, History of the war in Afghanistan, Vol. I, pp.2-8.

2. Ibid.

3. Owen, Wellesley Despatches, p. 688.

century began also to exercise a decided influence in reshuffling the political relations among the powers in Asia. In place of the French menace for the British which was disappearing appeared Russian menace for them, due to the eastern ambition of Russia and her designs in Asia, especially since the Treaty of Gulistan, concluded between Russia and Persia in 1813, and the anti-Russian policy of the British Government. Though it would not have been an easy task for Russia to fulfil her Asiatic designs from distant Moscow and to advance into India by overcoming the various geographical barriers, yet the Russian movements increased British suspicions and alarm. In fact, this '*Russo-phobia*' was largely responsible for the Anglo-Afghan Wars, which seriously affected India in various ways.

In 1934 Dr. N. K. Sinha (late Ashutosh Professor of History, Calcutta University) wrote a paper on *The Durrani Menace and the British North-West Frontier Problem*. He discussed in it the real nature of this problem and the policy of the British Indian Government in relation to it till the end of the eighteenth century.¹ In 1939 Dr. Hari Ram Gupta studied about 75 letters of Mohan Lal (Assistant of Sir Alexander Burnes), written from Kabul in the year 1842. As this writer points out, these letters furnish a "minute description of the day to day affairs of the Capital (Kabul), together with a lucid exposition of the state of various political parties."² The same writer contributed in 1942 a paper on *Afghanistan at Zaman Shah's accession*.³ Recently,⁴ Dr. Jata Shankar Jha of K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna brought to our notice an *Unpublished Correspondence relating to the First Anglo-Afghan War*, found in the records of the Divisional Commissioner's Record Room at Patna. It covers the period of the Anglo-Afghan War from April 13, 1839, to April 26, 1839—a period when the British Army was

1. Indian Historical Quarterly, 1934.

2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1939.

3. Ibid., 1942.

4. Ibid., 1955.

pushing forward with all possible speed towards Qandahar where it actually reached on the 25th April. The correspondence gives the dates and the time of the British Army's march, and the places of its halt, besides describing the preparation and advance of the opposing forces of the Barakzai Sardars, difficulties which the British Army had to encounter, defection in the Sardar's camp, their retreat and finally the reception of Shah Shuja at Qandahar by the habitants of the place. Qandahar was occupied by the British Army in April and Ghazni was stormed on the 23rd July, 1839. A first hand account of the fall of Ghazni is contained in a letter of Lt. Col. R. Macdonald, dated Ghazni, 23rd July 1839, to Colonel Egerton.¹ Macdonald noted in this letter that the fall of Ghazni "will be most acceptable news throughout all India, that is, to all those well disposed to the British Rule : it will have a great effect on Burmah and Nepal, and I may add Persia, both showing the strongest symptoms, of a desire to break with us". He observed in another letter, dated Kabul, 14th October, 1839 : "the moral effect of what we have done in Afghanistan is not confined to that country but extended to the many discontented spirits in India and to the neighbouring states, who were eagerly looking forward to our arms meeting with disaster in this country, which would have been the signal for them to have raised their rebellious forces and to have struck a blow at our power."

It is well known how Dr. Brydon, wounded and utterly exhausted, reached Jalalabad on the 13th January, 1842, to narrate the painful story of the tragic retreat of the British troops. There is also a reference in Macdonald's letter, dated 17th June, 1842, to an account in the *Journal of the Sergeant of the 37th Native Infantry*, who was an eyewitness of the events that happened from the date of the departure of General Elphinstone's force from Kabul till its final destruction, and his escape to Jalalabad. "It is a far better account than

1. *Journal of Indian History, August, 1938*

Brydon's, who seems scarcely yet to have recovered his reason, which in his fright he certainly lost for the time being."¹

In 1942 Dr. A.C. Banerjee of Calcutta contributed an article on *Neutralisation of Afghanistan*, 1869, on the basis of some unpublished records of the Imperial Records Department (now National Archives of India). During the last few years, Dr Dilip Kumar Ghose of Calcutta (now Head of the History Department, Burdwan University) wrote some original papers on *British policy towards Afghanistan from 1880*, by carefully utilizing various contemporary sources.² The World Press of Calcutta published in 1969 his successful D. Phil. thesis on *England and Afghanistan : A Phase in their Relations*. It is a critical work of considerable merit, in which the author has carefully analysed England's policy in Afghanistan as it slowly developed after the conquest of the Punjab in 1849 till the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1887. Dr. R. S. Rastogi was awarded Ph.D. Degree of the Lucknow University for his thesis on *India-Afghan Relations 1880-1900*.

The North-West Frontier of India, represented by the mountainous tracts lying between Afghanistan and the Punjab, has ever presented "both an international and a local problem of enormous complexity and difficulty". After the annexation of Sind and the Punjab, the British Indian Government had to be on their guard against the frontier troubles, and in 1901 Lord Curzon created the North-West Frontier Province. Lord Curzon's system collapsed under the strain of World War I, and the Government of India had to think of various other measures to keep the N.W. Frontier under their control. The Punjab University awarded Ph.D. Degree to Shri K.R. Prabhakar on the merit of his thesis on the *North-West Frontier Policy of the Government of India*. One work about the North-West Frontier is *Indo-British Policy*

1. Ibid.
2. Some issues of the Calcutta Review.

towards the North-West Frontier Tribes, 1864-1905 by Shri Daya Prakash Rastogi.

In 1963 Shri Ganga Prasad Tripathi obtained the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Delhi on the merit of a thesis entitled 'Indo-Afghan Relations, 1882-1907.' It consists of eight chapters including the Introduction, a map of India and Afghanistan, and several Indices. The Introduction is a sort of background to the main work containing a general survey of Indo-Afghan relations till 1883 on the authority of well known published works.

The second chapter deals with the settlement of Afghanistan's North-West Frontier, 1884-1887. The candidate has rightly pointed out that a struggle between England and Russia for supremacy in this part of Asia "was inherent in the logic of events" and that the "safety of British empire in India was the prime motive which prompted the Indian Government to devise ways and means to halt the Russian expansion towards Afghanistan". Some factors which "gave an increased importance" to the question of the delimitation of Afghanistan's northern frontier have been discussed. We get some new information about the Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission and the circumstances leading to the Panjdeh incident. The candidate holds the view that upto 1887 "the Indo-Afghan relations were quite cordial and smooth." In chapter III we get a good and detailed account of the international factors which influenced British and Russian imperial policies in Asia between 1888-1895. Chapter IV contains a discussion about the problem of India's defence, which was uppermost in the minds of the British statesmen and to a very considerable extent moulded their policy in relation to Afghanistan. The candidate has shown how from 1888 to 1895 the relations between the Government of India and Afghanistan were strained and has analysed its causes. Chapter V contains some new details regarding the settlement of Afghanistan's north-eastern boundary and the Durand Mission. It has been noted "that the Russian advance in the region of the Pamirs and the consequent threat to

Afghanistan's frontier in that direction brought the Indo-Afghan Governments closer together." In Chapter VI the candidate has reviewed the international situation from 1896 to 1905 to indicate how it reacted on Indo-Afghan relations. Events leading to the dispatch of the Dane Mission to Kabul and the conclusion of the Treaty of 1905 have been elucidated in Chapter VII. The last chapter presents a discussion of the factors responsible for the conclusion of the Afghan-Russian Entente of 1907, which is undoubtedly one of the most significant diplomatic alliances in modern history. It has been pointed out how the Amir remained silent about it in spite of the Government of India's efforts to secure his consent. "Seen from this point of view", the candidate observes, "the Convention was no more than a dead letter."

In 1968 Punthi Pustak of Calcutta published one original thesis on 'English East India Company and the Afghans' by Dr. Virendra Varma, Professor of History, Patna College.

For the thesis on 'India and Afghanistan, 1907-1921,' submitted by Mrs. Anuradha Sareen got the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, School of International Studies in 1975. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed and comprehensive account of the relations between India and Afghanistan between 1907 and 1921, which was a period marked by highly significant events in world history. Various factors which influenced the relations between the two countries have been carefully analysed by her. There were World War I, Bolshevik influences, Afghan nationalism, attitude of the frontier tribes and activities of the Indian revolutionaries.

It contains nine Chapters, a Conclusion, some Appendices and a Bibliography. Chapter I is a historical background of the period before 1907. In Chapter II impact of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 on Afghanistan has been elucidated. Problem of the frontier tribes has been discussed in Chapter III. Reaction of World War I on Afghanistan has been examined in Chapter IV. Circumstances causing the assassination of Amir Habibullah and the Third Afghan

War have been narrated in Chapter V. In Chapter VI the circumstances leading to the Treaty of Rawalpindi (1919) have been traced and its reaction in different quarters has been explained. It has been noted by the candidate that "a period of six months was given to Afghanistan to prove its sincerity for friendship by expelling Indian revolutionaries, Bolshevik emissaries and abstaining from intrigues with Frontier Tribes," Developments following the Treaty (1919-1920) have been scrutinised in Chapter VII. Circumstances leading to the Mussoorie Conference (1920) and its deliberations have been reviewed in Chapter VIII. Chapter IX deals with details relating to the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of November, 1921. The candidate rightly points out that "by 1921-22 British India's relations with Afghanistan were stabilized on a new basis, in keeping with the needs of the changed situation obtaining in this part of the world after the end of the First World War and the consolidation of Soviet power in Russia"

The thesis is based on a careful and critical study of different categories of original sources, viz : old official publications, official records of the National Archives of India, India Office Library, London, Public Record Office, London, and private papers stored in these offices and also in the Cambridge University Library and National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. It is a valuable original contribution containing plenty of new information. The candidate's observations and conclusions are expressed with due scrutiny. Literary presentation of the thesis is satisfactory.

India's relations with the countries on her northern frontier, that is, with Nepal and Tibet, deserve very careful study. As the English East India Company was gradually establishing its authority over Bengal and Bihar during the post-Plassey period, the Gurkhas rose to power in the territory skirting the northern frontier of Hindusthan, and finally subjugated the Nepal valley under the leadership of Prithvi Narayan. A collision between the Gurkhas and the new rulers of Bengal was thus inevitable, particularly because the former occasionally reached the northern frontier of Bihar and the latter also

wanted to push upward. The relations between the rulers of Nepal and the rulers of Bengal and Bihar (first the Nawabs and then the English) have not yet been studied with adequate references to the original materials from various unpublished contemporary records. There are brief accounts at a session of the Indian Historical Records Commission on *Indian Trade Delegation to Kathmandu in 1795*. During the closing years of the eighteenth century the English East India Company ascertained through the British Residents the possibilities of extending its commerce in certain parts of India and the neighbouring countries. In 1795, however, they deputed one Indian named Maulavi Abdul Qadir Khan to Nepal to collect necessary information. Abdul Qadir was instructed "to negotiate with the Rajah of Nepal as private merchant and not as Government agent". The Maulavi left Benares about May, 1795, and returned in December next, having collected information on trade and certain other affairs relating to Nepal, Tibet and China.

In the year 1939 I discovered some unpublished English records at Patna, which enabled me to write on *Anglo-Nepalese Relations in the beginning of the nineteenth century*.¹ These refer to the arrival of some deputies from Nepal to meet the Company's officers at Patna in 1802, after the conclusion of a commercial treaty between Lord Wellesley's Government and the kingdom of Nepal in 1800. But the deputies soon returned and their visit did not produce any tangible effect. The alliance of the English with the Nepal Government was soon dissolved, and Captain Knox, the British Resident, was recalled from Kathmandu. The undefined frontiers and rival claims of the Gurkhas and the English made the outbreak of a serious conflict between the two only a question of time. It came, as is well known, in the time of Lord Hastings.

Some works on Nepal in the modern period have been written during the last few years and a few are under preparation. Dr. D.R. Regmi's valuable work on Nepal was published

1. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1939.

some years back by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay of Calcutta. A volume on *Anglo-Nepalese Relations* (from the earliest times of the British rule in India till the Gurkha War) which secured for its writer Dr. K. C. Chaudhuri then of Scottish Church College, and now Principal, Maharaja Manindra Chandra College, Calcutta, the D.Phil Degree of the Calcutta University, came out in 1960. Shri Ramakant of Allahabad University then obtained Ph.D. Degree of this University on the merit of his thesis on *Anglo-Nepalese Relations from the Treaty of Sugauli 1816 to 1877*. Shri Satish Kumar Agarwal of the School of International Affairs, New Delhi, prepared a thesis on *Political System of Nepal under the Ranas, 1846-1901*, for which he was awarded Ph. D. Degree of the Delhi University. The thesis consists of eight chapters besides Introduction and Preface. Chapters one and two present an account of the Political History of Nepal till the year 1846, which marked the beginning of the Rana rule, as a sort of background to the main topic relating to the constitutional and administrative aspects of the post-1846 period. The writer has mentioned the factors which helped the growth in Nepal of what he describes as "a more or less feudal polity, sustained by feudal economy". Chapter three contains a discussion about the position of the king in the pre-Rana period and under the Ranas. We read how the king was relegated into the background during the Rana period so much so that the "monarch could no longer command the Prime Minister, on the contrary he was commanded by the Prime Minister". In fact, the king conferred Maharajaship and sovereignty on Jang Bahadur and alienated his real powers under duress retaining only some formal functions. Chapter four deals with the position of the Maharaja Prime Minister who developed an untempered autocracy with "absolute powers over the entire field of national activity overriding the king and all officers of the State". Chapter five is an account of the Rana administration beginning with a short note on the pre-Rana system some features of which could be traced in the Mughal administrative system. In the opinion of the writer the "Rana administra-

tion, as distinguished from the earlier ones, was characterised by the existence of a powerful oligarchy hedged in between the King at the top and the lesser civil and military officers at the bottom". Some prerogatives of the Rana were based on a special *Ain* made by Jang Bahadur. The sixth chapter describes law and justice with particular reference to the major contribution of the Ranas to the development of Nepalese law with regard to its codification as a written *Ain* and its reform (codification by Jang Bahadur, revision by Bir Shamser) and characteristic features of Nepalese law. Merits and peculiarities of Jang's *Ain* have been elucidated. Whatever existed as the machinery for the administration of justice in the pre-Rana and Rana periods has been noted by the writer with a chart. In the seventh chapter we get an account of the economic and social conditions of Nepal. The economic condition, in which a few flourished at the cost of the many, was not at all conducive to the development of agriculture and industry. Though there was improvement in trade, it "served the interests of the rulers". The Ranas exploited the traditional land system of *Birta*. The writer holds that the "agriculture was static, the industrial growth was negligible, the improvement in trade benefited only the ruling class, and the pattern of taxation was favourable to the rich and burdensome to the poor". Society also was static. There were no adequate facilities for education of the common people and progressive and liberal literature could not flourish. The people "lived in a social milieu in which the values of equality and dignity of human being were non-existent".

In 1963 a thesis, entitled "Nepal's Relations With Tibet (1792-1856)", was submitted by Shri Bishnu Prasad Poudel for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi. The candidate has laboured hard to consult various original sources and has brought to light plenty of new information. He has tried to examine the relations of Nepal with China and with Tibet in the period under review and to indicate the theoretical

influence of China over Nepal and Tibet. He writes, "Whatever statements have been given in support of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet and their influence over Nepal are substantiated everywhere by documentary proofs. My personal opinion on the subject is that the Chinese had established a firm control in Tibet until 1856 and the Nepalese, the British and the Tibetans were also of the view that Nepal was also under the Chinese influence. However, Chinese control lessened in Tibet after 1856 and she was able to stand independently. In consequence Tibet signed Simla Convention as a sovereign nation."

For his work, entitled 'Indo-Nepalese Relations, 1837-1877' Dr. Kanchanmoy Majumdar, Reader in History, Berhampur University (now Professor of History, Nagpur University) secured the Ph. D. Degree of the Indian School of International Studies. It contains eleven chapters, a concluding epilogue, two appendices and an exhaustive bibliography. The candidate has studied in it the various forces and factors which shaped the relations between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal from 1837 to 1877, with incidental references to Nepal's internal history to show how its events influenced Indo-Nepalese relations. The first two chapters form a sort of background to the main text of the thesis. Chapter one is a brief survey of Nepal's relation with the East-India Company in India from the date of Major Kinloch's expedition against the Gurkhas in October, 1767, till the conclusion of Treaty of Segowlee in 1816. He has rightly pointed out that the Treaty of Segowlee "Served as an effective bridle on the militarism of Nepal—a restraint deemed imperative for the security of the British dominion in India". Chapter two presents a description of the rule of Bhim Sen Thapa with a critical note on his policy, till his death in 1837 under tragic circumstances.

The fall of Bhim Sen Thapa has been traced in chapter three with a critical analysis of its causes. Fourfold plan of the Resident, Mr. Hodgson to transform Nepal from "a potential menace to British India" into a peaceful, innocuous

and useful ally has been discussed and the internal factors which helped him have been clearly elucidated. It has been pointed out by the candidate how after the death of Bhim Sen Thapa "followed a decade of tumult, when powers rose and fell in tragic sequence and alarming frequency ; when horrid scenes were enacted ; blood freely shed, everybody's hands being up against everybody. His fall from power unleashed the fissiparous elements, so long kept in effective restraint by him". The fall of Bhim Sen further "brought rather evils to the British than the anticipated good. Indo-Nepalese relations entered upon a new phase—a phase of storm and stress as never before". Chapters five, six and seven give an account of the challenge of Nepal's policy and the response of the British Government to it. As the situation in Nepal deteriorated after the fall of Bhim Sen Thapa, Hodgson urged strong measures. But Auckland was not in favour of such a policy out of various considerations. He thought that "measures of precaution and preparation" would be sufficient and an open war with Nepal at that critical time was to be avoided. There were critics of his policy, but he did budge. Assumption of office of the Governor-General by Lord Ellenborough after Lord Auckland in February, 1842, "signalled a change in the policy of British Government towards the state of Nepal. Auckland's policy of active, though limited, intervention, through strengthening the Resident's influence, was reversed for the policy of withdrawal and non-interference".

Hodgson was re-called by Lord Ellenborough and Major Henry Lawrence took charge from him in December 1843. Commenting on Hodgson's departure from Nepal, the candidate observes: "Thus ended, amidst paeans of praise and pangs of grief, the political career of the greatest British Resident in Nepal, whose diplomatic labours were as valuable to his country as his scholastic ones to the world of knowledge". Lawrence came to Nepal with order to "carry Lord Ellenborough's policy to fruition". In his relation with Matabar Singh he had to proceed with much caution and dexterity,

Matabar Singh's "vaulting ambition" gave rise to a conspiracy against him and led to his fall. Nepal's attitude during the First Anglo-Sikh War and her connection with the Patna Conspiracy of 1845 have been noted here. After discussing the circumstances which led to the rise of Jang Bahadur, the candidate has made an estimate of his character. "An unscrupulous turn-coat, adept in *volte-face*, his policy was", he remarks, "to cling to the safest and strongest power of the moment, and spurn it when it was unlikely to serve his own interests any longer".

We read in chapter seven that after 1846 there was no deviation from neutral policy on the part of the British in spite of domestic troubles in Nepal and the flight of its King and the Queen. As the new regime in Nepal became a *fait accompli*, Lord Hardinge recognised it, though with much reluctance. Jang Bahadur followed a policy of peace with the British Government and the Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-1849) provided him with a fresh opportunity for it. Jang Bahadur's European tour and his objects in undertaking it have been mentioned by the candidate Jang Bahadur's European tour and his objects in undertaking it have been mentioned by the candidate. It has been pointed out by him that extradition of criminals was "an abiding and irksome issue between Nepal and British India". The years 1846-1854, which witnessed consolidation of the Rana regime under Jang Bahadur, were also marked by mutual co-operation and understanding between Nepal and India. This was, the candidate significantly notes, "put to a severe test" during the Indian Revolt of 1857-59. Chapter eight is a detailed account of Nepal's role in this great movement, which undoubtedly marked a turning-point in the history of India in various ways. It is interesting to note how the Nepal Tarai "became soon a political asylum, a safe sanctuary of all types", who were either killed or captured with many of their followers in the last two months of 1859. The motives of Jang Bahadur in co-operating with the British have been carefully analysed by the writer, and he has also shown how the Revolt was "a landmark in the history of Indo-Nepalese relations". In chapter nine we get a

discussion of Jang Bahadur's policy of friendly isolation, which was based on two factors, "his knowledge of the British diplomacy in India, and his experience of British activities in Nepal".

The recruitment of the Gurkhas in the British Indian Army, which formed an important issue between the British Government and the Government of Nepal, has been discussed in chapter ten. In chapter eleven the candidate has made an analytical study of the various issues involved in British policy towards the northern frontier of India, both in its political and economic aspects, and has shown how Nepal's complicated relations with China, Tibet, Bhutan and Sikkim affected the relations of the Government of India with her. He has noted that the "British policy in the northern frontier of India was influenced by three factors; Nepal's aggressive designs towards her weaker neighbours, the interrelation of these Himalayan States and their relations with China". He has also examined the repercussions of the Anglo-Chinese War (1839-42), the Sikh-Tibetan War and the Nepal-Tibet War (1853-56) on British policy towards the northern frontier, and the bearing of China's decadence in the second half of 19th century on Nepal's relations with her neighbours. It has been pointed out how the "myth of Chinese overlordship", which lingered long in this area, left a complicated legacy for the future. "The juxtaposition of the lingering Chinese influence and the British 'special interest' in the northern frontier of India left", the candidate significantly observes, "a tangled web of political anomaly and problems which the Governments of India and China today are finding difficult to straighten out".

Dr. Aniruddha Gupta obtained in 1963-64 the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the School of International Studies on the merit of his thesis entitled 'Politics and Parties in Nepal'.

In 1963 a thesis, entitled 'Politics and Parties in Nepal, 1950-60', was submitted by Shri Aniruddha Gupta for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Indian School of International Studies. In this thesis Shri Gupta has made a careful and comprehensive study of the quickly succeeding and momentous changes in the history of Nepal for a decade after

the collapse of the Rana rule and the old order as a result of the armed insurrection of November, 1950, and emergence of Nepal as an independent sovereign State. The first two chapters of it, based on already well known published works, is a sort of historical background to his main thesis and these contain nothing very original. But he has critically elucidated the factors which caused the failure of the Ranas and has significantly remarked that "the King's moral support to the revolt as started by the Nepali Congress gave it the shape of a National Liberation Movement".

In the other chapters the candidate has incorporated plenty of interesting and important information, after a thorough scrutiny of various contemporary sources which he has duly mentioned in the Bibliography. These sources include official documents, non-official documents with party publications, and articles in learned journals besides relevant books published in the course of the recent years.

In chapter three the candidate has reviewed the experiment in democratic government between 1951-55. He starts with the premise "that constitutionally what took place in 1951 was not a revolution but a restoration". He has noticed the birth of anti-Indian feeling since the last week of April, 1951. The features of the Interim Constitution of 1951 have been indicated by him, with special emphasis on the authority and wide powers which it vested in the Crown. He has at the same time mentioned the limitations of the King's powers according to the Constitution. He has also noticed how "the experiment in coalition between the forces of conservatism and progress failed in Nepal". This has been followed by a description of the influence and working of the Nepali Congress and also of the circumstances which led to the establishment of "Advisory Assembly". The characteristics of the Interim Government of Nepal Act, 1954, have been elucidated by the candidate and he has carefully described the formation of the National Cabinet. The fall of the Cabinet has been explained by him critically.

In chapter four we get a discussion of the various issues of Nepal politics and role of the King and the different parties in it between 1955 and 1958. The nature and achievements of the

Acharya Cabinet have been discussed carefully. It has been pointed out how "the most significant development which Nepal made at this time and which had far-reaching influence on the development of her internal politics was in the sphere of foreign policy. In December, 1955 Nepal was admitted to the United Nations—an event which was cheered and celebrated by all the Nepalese."

The candidate has pointed out how at the beginning of 1958 a new phase had begun in Nepal politics, and the "monarch himself emerged as the strongest political force in the country." Chapter five presents a description of the new Constitution announced by King Mahendra on the 12th February, 1959 and working of the Parliamentary rule between 1959-60. We get here an elaborate description of important features of this new Constitution and critical assessment of its demerits. "The most significant aspect of the Constitution was the high place it gave to the Nepalese Crown." The candidate has reviewed the experiment in Parliamentary rule from May, 1959 and has analysed the causes of its ultimate failure.

In chapter six we get detailed accounts of the origin, composition and growth of the different political parties in Nepal, viz. *Nepali Congress* (a pluralist party), *Gurkha Parishad* (party of aggressive nationalism), *Samyukta Prajatantra Party* (Personality Party), *Nepal Communist Party*, *Nepal Praja Parishad*, and *Nepal Rashtriya Congress*. The principles, features and activities of these parties have been reviewed in the seventh chapter. "The emergence of a large number of political groups and parties with exclusive local, communal and personalities and their continuous fragmentation and regrouping had been, the candidate observes, "the chief features of Nepalese party-politics since 1951." He has also noted that the "Indian origin" of Nepal's new political leadership was an "interesting feature of post-Rana politics." The political problems of Nepal, during the period 1950-60, he remarks, were "largely administrative, economic and social", and comments that these "still remain to be solved by the makers of present day Nepal".

In 1967 a thesis, entitled 'Indo-Nepalese Relations—A Study of Himalayan Politics, 1861-98', was submitted by Shri Susmit

Chacraverti for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (in the Faculty of Arts) of the Jadavpur University.

In this thesis the candidate has presented an account of Indo-Nepalese Relations in the context of Himalayan Politics from 1861 to 1898. It contains eight chapters and a select bibliography. Chapter I is an Introduction in which the candidate has traced the early history of Nepal upto 1860 with references to Nepal's geography, ethnology, religion and culture. Chapter II is an account of the efforts of the British Government for the opening up of the Himalayas from the year 1861 when the Anglo-Sikkimese Treaty was concluded, till the conclusion of the Chefoo Convention in 1876. Both these events are of considerable significance in the history of the Himalayan regions and these have been discussed critically by the candidate. The Anglo-Sikkimese Treaty of 1861, he rightly points out, "unique in the history of British diplomacy in the Himalayas had profound impact on different aspects of relations of the region". In Chapter III he has reviewed Nepal's relationship with Tibet, China and Bhutan from 1861 to 1877 with reference to the basic trends of Indo-Nepalese relations. The guiding principles and the details of the foreign policy of Jang Bahadur, Prime Minister of Nepal, and the efforts of C.E. Girdlestone, British Resident in Nepal, to counteract Chinese machinations in Himalayan affairs have been clearly elucidated by him. In Chapter IV he has discussed the position of the British Resident in Nepal, has been described as 'A Caged Lion', from 1877 to 1885, who in spite of strenuous efforts of the Residents to make themselves comparatively independent of the control of the Nepal Darbar. In Chapter V we get detailed account of the commercial relations between India and Nepal from 1877 to 1885 when the Prime Minister, Randeep Singh, was in power in Nepal. Decisions of the Fyzabad Conference (26th January, 1880) relating to Treaty between Nepal and the districts adjoining it in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh have been examined in this chapter. Successes of British diplomacy in Sikkim from the time of the Macaulay Mission of 1886 to the signing of the Regulations regarding Trade Communication and Pasturage on December 5, in 1893 have been described in Chapter VI. In

Chapter VII the candidate has critically reviewed Nepal's relations with China and Tibet between 1890 and 1898 and change in British Policy regarding these relations. Efforts of China to push into Nepal even in the last quarter of the nineteenth century have been noted by him. "The core" of "Nepal Darbar's China policy," he observes, "was to maintain independent relations with the British and Chinese authorities alike. Nepal regarded it as essential to preserve her independence. Its 'modus operandi' was to play off one against the other". The concluding chapter is a critical resume of the events mentioned in the previous chapters

On the merit of the thesis, entitled 'India and Nepal—A Study of Commercial Relations (1846-1900)'. Shri Jaharlal Sen obtained the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Arts) of the University of Calcutta in 1973. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of the commercial relations between India and Nepal from 1846 to 1900. It contains fifteen Chapters, besides an Introduction, some Appendices, and a Glossary of some Nepalese terms. In Chapter I the candidate has traced the political background of the relations between the two countries from the time of the appointment of Jang Bahadur as the Prime Minister of Nepal on 15th September, 1846, till the end of the nineteenth century and he has discussed the political status of Nepal during this period. "In fact, throughout nineteenth century, in treaties and relations with Nepal the Government of India totally ignored", the candidate notes, "the paramountcy of China and acknowledged the independent status of Nepal". In Chapter II he has traced the history of India's trade with Nepal through the ages since the ancient period. In Chapter III we get a description of trade-routes and the system of transport through overland routes, river routes and different sections of railways. The overland routes connected Nepal with Darjeeling, Purnea, Bhagalpur, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Champaran, Gorakhpur, Basti, Gonda, Bahraich, Kheri, Bareilly and Kumaon. The river-routes were from Karnali, Gandaki, Kosi, Purnea, Bhagalpur. Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Champaran, Gorakhpur, Basti, Gonda, Bahraich, Pilipit. Dates of cons-

truction of the different railways, the extent of their utilisation for trade and their utility "for effective trade across the frontier" have been noted by the candidate. Details of registration stations for purposes of trade have been mentioned by him in Chapter IV. Their *modus operandi* has been examined by the candidate. He remarks that "the working of the registration system was far from satisfactory" and analyses the reasons for it. In Chapter V the tariff structure in Nepal's trade on the Bengal-Nepal Frontier and N. W. Provinces has been discussed. Chapter VI is an account of Nepal's Tariff Policy with reference to the schedules of imposts levied at different places.

The subject of Nepal and Free Trade has been studied in details in Chapter VII with reference to the views of many important officers of the Government and the resolutions passed at the Fyzabad Conference (26 January, 1880). In 1884 the Government of India considered the "free power of obtaining Gurkha recruits" more important than "the liberalisation of trade". "It is thus evident", the candidate writes, "that from 1884 onwards till the end of the century the British attempts to induce Nepal to accept the principle and practice of Free Trade were allowed to die in atrophy though reluctantly but nevertheless consciously and deliberately". Pattern of commercial exchange has been elucidated in Chapter VIII and the question whether the trade was capable of considerable development has been examined. In fact, as the candidate notes, "Indo-Nepalese trade relation had a continuous and steady progress throughout the entire span of the nineteenth century." Importance and volume of Timber Trade have been discussed in Chapter IX and it has been pointed out that "in the second half of the nineteenth century, the import of timber from Nepal to India definitely assumed a conspicuous demension". Opium traffic and smuggling, very often illicit arms deal and slave trade have been described in Chapters X, XI and XII respectively. Reference has been made to the large number of slaves in Nepal and to the efforts of Jang Bahadur to liberate them. But in spite of "pious legislations, this practice could not be stopped". In Chapter XIII it has been shown

how "throughout the nineteenth century, commercial and strategic considerations of the British Government shaped the destiny of Darjeeling. Reference has been made to the local manufactures of Darjeeling and it has been noted that Darjeeling "as a depot of Indo-Nepal trade had an unimpressive role which admits of no easy explanation." In Chapter XIV the candidate gives an interesting account of India's trade with Central Asia via Nepal by examining the factors which impeded India's trade with Central Asia via Nepal. The concluding chapter is a resume of what has been written in the preceding chapters.

In 1975 Shri Shaphalya Prasad Amatya obtained the Ph. D. Degree of the Jawaharlal Nehru University School of International Studies on his thesis entitled 'Rana Rule in Nepal'.

In this thesis the candidate has presented a comprehensive account of the last phase of Rana Rule in Nepal, which is a subject of profound significance in the history of modern Asia. It contains ten Chapters including Introduction and Conclusion, some Appendices, and Bibliography. In Chapter I the candidate has described the general features of Nepal's social life and economic conditions. The Nepalese society as a whole, he writes, "was a typical folk society where socio-economic authority was actually wielded by the rulers and their minions". He points out that "despite some improvements introduced by Jang Bahadur and Chandra Shamsher in the overall administration of the country, the traditional socio-economic framework of the Nepalese society remained unaltered..." The first phase of Rana Rule has been described and its last phase has been discussed. This is followed by an analysis of the main features of Rana Rule. Under the Rana system with the enormous power wielded by the Rana and "the secretiveness with which government was conducted, the administration was under the complete control of the Prime Minister". The British, as the candidate holds, "gave moral support to the Ranas to continue their isolation policy in foreign affairs, and repressive policy in domestic affairs".

The growth of the Anti-Rana Movement has been traced in Chapter II. In examining the factors responsible for it the candidate observes : "The two World Wars, the international

situation, the replacement of a new order after the demolition of the old colonial order in some parts of the world, and increasing demand for democracy, freedom and liberty in different parts of Asia were some of the major factors in firing the Nepalese, whether ex-servicemen or the elite, with a new sense of awakening". The international events referred to are Japan's victory over Russia in 1905, the Russian Revolution, and profound influence of India's Freedom Movement. The internal conditions including socio-religious movements and influence of new literature, and organization of the Praja Parishad, some Youth Organisations, the activities of the Nepali Congress, strikes and demonstrations, etc., which cumulatively produced an impact on the people of Nepal, have been examined by the candidate with plenty of details.

Chapter III deals with the different features and problems of the administration of Juddha Shamsher, his foreign policy, and a general assessment of his personality as a ruling authority. In Chapter IV the candidate has drawn a picture of Padma Shamsher's personality, traits and constraints, has indicated the domestic and international problems he had to face, and has pointed out his comparatively liberal steps for reform and spread of education and his keenness to develop the country's economy. His relations with some other powers and Nepal's participation in international forum have been discussed critically by the candidate, and he has also indicated the salient features of the 1948 Constitution. In concluding this chapter the candidate has given the following estimate of Padma Shamsher : "He was weak as a man and indecisive as a ruler. As a ruler he had the dreams and visions of a romanticist, but not the determination and courage of a man of action."

Different aspects of the administration of Mohan Shamsher have been elaborately reviewed in Chapter V. His attempt to secure Nepal's admission into the United Nations failed. But he concluded treaties with the United Kingdom and the United States, and China's relations with Nepal and Tibet remained cordial. The candidate rightly observes that "two momentous international events, the end of British paramountcy in India and coming to power of communists in China, that occurred

during Mohan Shamser's Prime-Ministership, were the greatest factors in the reorientation of Nepal's foreign policy". The candidate has characterised Mohan Shamser as a "wrong person at a wrong time. He was more concerned to stick to his authority to perpetuate the Rana regime rather than implement such policies which would be consistent with the spirit of the time ..". A balanced account of King Tribhuban's role in anti-Rana policies and an overall estimate of his personality have been given in Chapter VI. Strong attitude of the Government of India in refusing to recognize the boy-king who had been installed after King Tribhuban's flight to India has been explained in this chapter. Chapter VII is a detailed description of Nepal's armed revolution in different fronts. The candidate makes the following comment about it : "An assessment of the armed revolution would show that the gains far outweighed the losses incurred by the Nepali Congress. It has to be accepted that the insurgency compelled the Rana Government to surrender, more so because it had also brought home to the ruling Ranas the realization that it was no longer possible either to bypass the popular, spontaneous upsurge or to regard the forces supporting the revolution as insignificant. All this not only worked as one of the major factors to letdown the Rana regime but also helped to change the whole course of Nepalese politics".

Policy of the Indian Government and the part played by it in the Nepalese Revolution of 1950-51 and also the role of the Socialist Party of India have been critically examined in Chapter VIII. Various causes and specific factors leading to the downfall of the Rana regime have been analysed in Chapter IX.

Shri Tara Prasad Lal Das, Lecturer in History, B. N. College, Patna, is also writing a thesis on *Indo-Nepalese Relations from 1804 to 1859*. Some other works on Nepal under preparation in the School of International Studies, Delhi, are *History of Nepal* by Shri L. S. Baral, *Nepal's Relations with British India, 1816-1877* by Shri K. P. Panth, *A Study of Political Development in Nepal since the overthrow of Rana Regime* by Shri K. P. Sharma and *Nepal's Relations with the British Government in India, 1768-1816*.

In 1958 I wrote a paper on *Correspondence of Edward*

*Roughsedge (Commanding Ramghar Battalion) Relating to Nepal War.*¹ Dr. S. V. Suri, Keeper of Records, Government of the Punjab, contributed a paper on *British Campaign against the Gurkhas in the Simla Hill States* after studying a bundle of papers salvaged from the Commissioner's Office, Ambala², and Dr. Q. Ahmad of the K. P. Jayswal Research Institute, Patna, contributed a paper on *Early Anglo-Nepalese Relations with particular reference to the principality of the Raja of Mukwanpur* on the basis of some records of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, Patna (1771-73).³ Dr. R. N. Chowdhary has written a paper on *Anglo-Nepalese Relations, 1816-1858*.⁴ We have an interesting paper on *British activities in India during the Gorkha-Tibetan War II (1854-56)* by Shri Suniti Kumar Pathak of Visva Bharati.⁵

British Relations with the Hill Tribes on the North Eastern Frontier.

British relations with the Bhutanese in the eastern Himalayas, began since 1772, when in helping the local chief of Cooch Bihar they expelled them from that principality. Bhutan was a dependency of Tibet, and after the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Teshu Lama in 1774, Warren Hastings sent George Bogle to Lhasa for trying to open commercial relations. But nothing definite was achieved due to the premature death of the Teshu Lama. Another commercial mission was sent in 1783 under Turner, but it proved a failure. The British acquisition of Assam in 1826 brought them into closer contact with the Bhutanese, who carried on degradations into the *Duars* or doors leading into Assam. Several unsuccessful negotiations, e. g. Pemberton's mission in 1838, followed ; but affairs remained unsatisfactory. In 1951 Dr. H. K. Barpujari of Assam contributed a paper

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1958.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1960.

5. Ibid.

describing early British relations with Bhutan (1825-1840)¹. Dr. P. L. Mehra of Chandigarh wrote two parts of his paper on *The Younghusband Expedition, on Interpretation*, in 1955 and 1961 respectively. In 1958 he contributed a paper on *Lord Curzon's Despatch of January 8, 1903 : its impact and his Tibetan Policy*.² In 1959 Prof. Suniti Kumar Pathak of Visva Bharati reviewed in a paper *Indo-Tibetan Relationship During the British Rule in India*³ and Prof. Miss. K. S. Rijhsinghani studied *India's Relations with Tibet (1885-1905)*.⁴ Dr. P. L. Mehra has also written a paper on *The Lhasa Convention and Younghusband's Defiance of Authority*.⁵

A considerable gap in our knowledge regarding the north-eastern frontier of India, and her relations with Burma, has been filled up by the publication of Dr. S. N. Sen's *Prachin Bangala Patra Sankalan*, a highly useful collection of Bengali letters of the early nineteenth century preserved under the custody of the National Archives of India. Dr. A. C. Banerjee's books on the *Eastern Frontier of British India* (first published in 1934), and *Annexation of Burma* (first edition in 1944) are also highly useful publications in this respect. Both the books are based almost entirely on contemporary original documents in English, Bengali, Assamese and Burmese languages, and so they contain plenty of authentic information greatly supplementing the narratives of earlier writers like Sir Edward Gait, Sir Arthur Phayre and Mr. G. E. Harvey. The Eastern University Press, Singapore, published in 1960, a valuable work on *The Annexation of Upper Burma* by Shri D. P. Singhal. In the opinion of this author the annexation of Upper Burma was not a sudden action but it was deliberate and pre-planned. Shri Indrajit Chawala (Punjab) prepared a thesis on *Indo-Burmese Relations*. Dr. R. M. Lahiri's book on *Annexation of Assam*

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1951.

2. Ibid., 1958.

3. Ibid., 1959.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., 1961.

is a valuable contribution, based on a critical study of original sources, and it throws new light on some important points. A connected history of Manipur, written by Prof. Jotirmoy Roy of D. M. College, Imphal, was published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay in 1958. In 1959 Dr. H. L. Gupta of Saugar drew our attention to *An Unknown Factor in the Annexation of Assam*.

For several years, some scholars of Assam have written important works regarding their country in the modern period. These are Dr. S.K. Bhuyan's *History of Assam*, Shri K.N. Dutt's articles on *Early British relations with the Hill Tribes of Assam*¹, in 1835², Assam in 1858³, (an eyewitness's account based on *Captain Francis Jenkin's diary*), and Dr. H. K. Barpujari's articles on *Documents relating to the History of Education in Assam in the days of the Company*⁴, on papers relating to the annexation of Jayantia⁵, on *The Tariff Walls in the North-East Frontier in the Early Days of the Company*⁶, the *Khasi Insurrection of 1829* By Prof. K.N. Dutt⁷ and the *Real Cause and Character of the Insurrection of the Khasis* by Dr. H. K. Barpujari⁸. A comparative study of the *Socio-Religious Customs of the Hill Tribes of Assam* by Shri Tajendra Chandra Das (Government of Assam in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies) was undertaken some years back. Bina Deka (Delhi) wrote on *History of Education in Assam in the British Period*, and Shri Sudhir Chandra Gupta (National Archives of India) studied the history of the *North-East Frontier Tribes*.

In 1962 Sri Birendra Chandra Chakravorty, got the D. Phil degree of the University of Calcutta. On the merit of the

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1953.
2. Ibid., 1951.
3. Ibid., 1952.
4. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1953.
5. Ibid., 1954.
6. Journal of Indian History, 1959.
7. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1959.
8. Ibid.

thesis on "British Relations with the Hill-Tribes of Assam" (1858-1900).

In Chapter I the author after presenting a general account of the Hill Tribes, discusses their relations with the British Indian Government upto the 1858. On page 33 he notes how the Government's policies of non-interference had to be replaced by a 'Forward' policy.

In Chapter II the candidate describes the Government's relations with the South-West Tribes, as for example, (a) The Khasis and Jaintias, and (b) The Garos. He has given an account of the revolt of the Garos in 1857-59 and of the expedition of 1861 (page 41). The details of the expedition and subsequent policy of the Government towards the Garos have been described on pages 41-43. The candidate has noted how the Government adopted a forward policy in the Garo Hills from 1866.

The relations of the Government with the Abors from 1858 have been traced in Chapter III with reference to successive Abor raids and unsuccessful expedition against the Abors under Captain Maxwell in January 1894.

In Chapter IV we get an account of the Lushai, Kuki and the allied Tribes and their relations with the Government. The candidate has pointed out how the Government's policies towards these tribes were marked by combination of expedition and conciliation. Incidentally, the relations of some of the Tribes with the Manipur State have also been discussed.

The writer significantly observes that the "British Government was always anxious to avoid any engagement with the hill tribes on the frontier and always dissuaded friendly states like Manipur from attacking any hill tribe without provocation for a chaos in the hill area might make all the hill tribes restless".

In Chapter V the candidate deals with the Nagas and the policy of the British Government towards them. It has been noted how the Government abandoned the policy of noninterference in relation to the Nagas and the latter entered into

an agreement after they had been subdued as a result of the expeditions of 1777-78. But the Nagas still continued to defy Government authority and their movements continued to be a problem. It is significant to note the following observation (page 173) of the candidate ; "The general belief that the Nagas had not to fight with the British forces in the open, the night surprises and the village defences being their only strength, and treacherous dealing being their tour de force, was proved to be wrong by the Yachumi collision. General McGregor cited several instances when he had seen them come out in the open under military fire and carry off their wounded. At Yachumi the tribesmen attacked the troops about noon in the open, and did not yield until forty-five of them were killed".

Chapter VI deals with Mishmis and their relations with the Government. We find that the expedition against them was not quite successful and Lord Curzon made a significant observation about it.

Chapter VII is an account about the Daflas.

In Chapter-VIII we get a very interesting account of the Government's relations with the Bhutias. The candidate observes : "It is important to note that the British Government in the seventies of the last century grew aware of the Chinese influence in Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. ... Thus there was a contest between China and Britain for the extension of the sphere of influence over Tibet, Bhutan and Sikkim, and ultimately the British Government was victorious."

There is a discussion about the Akas and the minor Tribes in Chapter IX.

In 1969 for a thesis, entitled "British Relations with Manipur, 1824-1891", submitted by Shri Lesihangthem Chandramani Singh secured the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Gauhati. In this thesis the candidate has studied in details relations of the British Government with Manipur from 1824, that is from the year of the commencement of the first Anglo-Burmese War,

till 1891, that is the year when British paramountcy was established over this State. In the Introduction he has described the physical features, topography and early political background of this area till 1824. In Chapter I he has reviewed what he mentions as 'Beginning of A New Era (1824-1834)' with reference to the personality and activities of Gambhir Singh till his death on the 9th January, 1894. 'The period of tentative intervention (1834-1845)' has been studied in Chapter II. Chapter III contains descriptions of 'Revols and Conspiracies' in Manipur from 1842-1850. In Chapter IV we get an account of what the candidate has termed as 'Transition' from 1826-1880. He has mentioned in it the repercussions of the 'Mutiny' on this State. He has critically discussed the problems of the North Eastern Frontier in the period from 1835 to 1890, in Chapter V. In Chapter VI he has traced the establishment of British paramountcy over Manipur. Administrative reforms in Manipur and its material progress from 1826 to 1890 have been discussed in Chapter VII.

A thesis, entitled "History of Education in Assam", 1826-1919, submitted by Shrimati Archana Chakravarty for the D. Phil Degree of the University of Gauhati which she secured on its merit in 1971 presents a detailed account of the various phases in the progress of education in Assam from the year 1826, when it passed under the East India Company's control, till the year 1919, which was an important landmark in the evolution of self-government in India. In the introductory portion the candidate, after noting the geographical features of Assam, has given a short account of the state of indigenous education, which prevailed in this area before the introduction of the modern system of education. In chapter one she has traced the beginnings of the new system of education. Immediately after the conclusion of the First Anglo-Burmese War, David Scott, the Agent to the Governor-General, North-East Frontier, continued to patronise indigenous system of education, out of some practical administrative considerations. Only one elementary English School

was started at Gauhati in 1831 by its Collector, Adam White, in collaboration with James Rae, a member of Serampur Missionary Society. The candidate holds that Scott's "policy of conciliating the ex-official aristocracy soon proved a dismal failure" Bentinck's Resolution of March, 1835 and Hardinge's Resolution of October, 1844, gave some impetus to the cause of modern education but the progress was still very slow. The number of schools, the candidate writes, "was insignificant compared with the total population of the Province" (p. 27), and she has analysed the main obstacles in the progress of education in Assam. The recommendations about education made by A.J.Moffat Mills, Judge of the Saddar Dewani Adalat of Calcutta, who was deputed in 1853 make a detailed enquiry about the local administration in Assam, with which Anandaram Dhekial Phukan, the sub-Assistant of Nowgong and an eminent Assamese of the period, agreed, did not prove quite effective and the anomalies in the field of education continued.

In the second chapter, after referring to the recommendations of the Educational Despatch of July 1854, which in the candidate's opinion "contributed much towards the evolution of a new system of education in Assam" she has reviewed the progress in vernacular or primary education and the experiments in secondary and higher education through the medium of English. The third chapter contains descriptions about reorientation and progress of education at all stages, Primary, Secondary, Collegiate and Vocational with reference to the recommendations of the Hunter Commission, Curzon's Educational Resolution of 1904, and the Government of India's Resolution of 1913. The candidate has noted when and how the Cotton College was established at Gauhati and the Murarichand College was started at Sylhet. There was very slow progress in vocational education. The candidate has shown how World War I adversely "affected the progress of education in Assam." In chapters IV to VIII she has discussed the various aspects of education in Assam, viz. Curriculum and medium of instruction

(chapter IV), training of the teachers (chapter V), management and control (chapter VI), education finance (chapter VII), and education of the backward communities (chapter VIII). The concluding chapter is an account of the achievements and failures in the field of education in Assam during the period under review. At the end of this period "there had developed", the candidate observes, "a system of public instruction the influence of which extended in varying degrees throughout the province. The total number of scholars known to the Education Department to be under instruction reached about two and a half lakhs in course of ninety-three years whereas at the commencement of our period only a few could read and write. She adds that 'apart from this progress in education, the modernisation of education on western lines created a middle class intelligentia-with liberal ideas'. She has, however, indicated the drawbacks in the present system of education and has, like many others, pleaded for a "radical reorientation" of it.

It is highly gratifying to note that the Government of Assam has planned preparation of comprehensive History of Assam under the Editorship of a learned historian of Assam Dr. H. K. Barpujari. Volume one of it has already come out and the other two volumes are expected to be published soon.

For the basis of thesis, entitled "Indo-Burmese Relations (1848-86)", Shri Naresh Chandra Saxena, obtained in 1964 the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Lucknow University. This thesis presents detailed account of Indo-Burmese Relations from 1848 to 1886. It contains eleven chapters. The first chapter is 'Introduction' in which the candidate has traced the background of Indo-Burmese relations from the middle of the 18th century. There is nothing original in it. But the other chapters contain plenty of new information. Particularly important are the Chapters IV, V, VI, VII and VIII in which the candidate has critically discussed the various factors which influenced Indo-Burmese relations. His observations about the influence of British mercantile classes on

the relations between Burma and India and the desire of the British Government to utilise Burma as a back-door for South West China are highly significant. He has also pointed out rightly how "the increase of the French power in the Indo-China accelerated aggressive British design in upper Burma", though he is of opinion that "the argument that French machinations at the Burmese Court, allegedly working for the establishment of French preponderance in that country, forced the Government of India to take final steps for the extinction of independent Burma was a myth and a shield created for covering the naked aggression on a weak country".

In 1978 Shri Sudan Lal Projapati prepared a thesis, entitled "Land Revenue Administration in Assam 1826-1874", for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Gauhati. In this thesis the candidate has presented in different chapters accounts of Land Revenue Policy and Measures of the Government from 1826 to 1874 and their effects on the ryots and common men of the place. It has chapters I-VI, conclusion, some appendices, glossary and select bibliography. The introduction, besides dealing with physical and political background contains an account of the indigenous *Khel* system which was the basis of revenue organization under the previous government. Chapter I gives an account of the early revenue measures from 1826 to 1832, in which the old system of paying revenue in personal service and produce was replaced by payment in cash, but the native agency was, by and large, in charge of the management. Its disastrous effects on the ryots have been described here at length. Reorganisation of the revenue system was made in the period from 1835 to 1838 when the *Khel* system was removed and a land tax was introduced. In chapter III we get elaborate discussion of the working of the new system in the period from 1839 to 1860.

Chapter IV, covering the last phase from 1861 to 1874 deals with circumstances, which led to the emergence of the land-holders' tenure and the introduction of a set of new rules in 1870 which brought uniformity about revenue admini-

stration in Assam. Waste land grants are described in chapter V. This facilitated the growth of tea industry and had thus a bearing on the economic development of the province. Different land tenures have been studied in chapter VI. The concluding chapter is a resume of what have been described in the earlier chapters and provides an estimate of the achievements and failures of the revenue measures during the period under review, "The revenue policy of the Government, particularly the liberal grants of waste lands turned Assam into a foreigners' paradise", as the candidate writes.

FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Section III

Foreign policies of British India and then of nationalist India are subjects of absorbing interest and profound significance for students of modern history. Growing British political supremacy in India during the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century was exposed to the invasions by land and sea of the French, then engaged in a deadly conflict with England in Europe and elsewhere and also to those of the Afghans from the North-West. To counteract these, Wellesley strengthened the defence in the north-western border of their dominions in Bihar by coercing Oudh, and secured the friendship of Persia by sending a mission under Malcolm to the Court of Teheran leading to the conclusion of the Anglo-Persian commercial and political treaty of 1808. Fall of Tipu, followed by British annexation of the Carnatic Payen Ghat, and the fall of Tanjore, gave the English East India Company "the full command of the Coromandal seaboard and so diminished the danger of a hostile landing on that coast."¹ Further, the destruction of the military power of the Northern Maratha States and the alliance of the English with the Peshwa secured for them the control over the western seaboard from Goa to the Narmada and also over Gujerat and Bundelkhand. After their occupation of Orissa as a result of the Second Anglo-Maratha War, Bengal and Madras seaboads were linked.

We must note that the wars of the European powers outside India exercised a tremendous influence on the course of Indian politics from the middle of the eighteenth century. Voltaire significantly observed : "The first cannon shot fired in our lands was to set the match to all the batteries in America and in Asia". The War of Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, and the Napoleonic Wars had their echoes on the distant shores of India and had

1. Owen, Wellesley Despatches. Introduction, XXI.

a large share in reshaping her political destiny. The battle of Wandiwash (1760) no doubt dealt a severe blow to the French in India. But even after this, the Frenchmen tried to pursue their political ambitions here. So the English East India Company had to reckon with what they considered to be a French menace to them.

The fall of Napoleon eliminated this menace for the English, but Russia now stepped into the place of France. The eastern ambitions of Russia and her designs in Asia, particularly since the conclusion of the Treaty of Gulistan between Russia and Persia in 1813, deeply influenced the course of the foreign policy of the British Government in India at least till the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907. Some years back Shri S. R. Tyagi (Agra) obtained Ph. D. Degree by submitting a thesis on *Influence of European Politics on India, 1838-1914*, which he prepared in consultation with me.

It is significant that Indian scholars have now turned greater attention than before to the study of this important aspect of the history of modern India in the background of world history. In 1939 Prof. S. N. Banerji (then in Maharaja's College, Patiala) wrote a paper on the *Beginning of an Asiatic policy of the Company's Government in India in 1798-1800*.¹ In 1945 I wrote a paper on *The French Menace and Warren Hastings, 1778-1779*, in which I pointed out how in view of the apprehended recrudescence of war between England and France, Warren Hastings suggested a plan in a minute, dated 26th January 1778, "to avert the threatened danger" of a Franco-Maratha alliance. After the news of the actual outbreak of war between England and France had reached India on the 7th July, 1778, Hastings felt that "it was no longer a time to temporise, but to take speedy and decided measures". Mr. Elliot, a civilian, was deputed to Nagpur on the 18th July 1778, to fix up the intended alliance with Raja of Berar. But he died on the way on the 12th September, 1778. Colonel Goddard was then directed by the Calcutta Government to take charge of this affair. But this policy of the Governor-General, "projected", in his own opinion, "for the aggrandisement of the

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.

British name and dominion" did not materialise for various reasons. His plan was superseded by a plan from Bombay. Dr. S. P. Sen (then in Calcutta University, who died recently as Director of the Institute of Historical Research, Calcutta), who has brought to light during the last few years many important French documents, wrote a paper in 1953¹ giving therein a connected account of the diplomatic intrigues of Chivalier, Governor of Chandernagore (1767-1778), based on his own letters to the Minister of Marine and Colonies preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. "Chivalier was a colourful personality. He kept himself in constant touch with the Princes of North India and with the French military adventures scattered all over the subcontinent, intrigued at every Darbar and never doubted for a moment that it was possible for France even at that hour to drive the English out of Bengal with the help of some of the Indian princes." But for certain reasons his plans could not be successfully executed. Shri Krishna Saxena of the National Archives of India has shown how taking advantage of the unexpected arrival in two Cochin-Chinese Mandarins of high rank in February 1778, Warren Hastings sent a mission to Cochin-China for forming an alliance with the ruling power there to prevent spread of French influence in that area and to have a base for the East India Company's trade with China. Nothing tangible came out of this mission as that country was in the grip of a civil war. Chapman made certain recommendations for the future which were not found acceptable for various reasons, "Chapman's mission", notes the writer, "was one of a series of experiments carried out by the Company to secure a line of independent bases (to link England, India and China), to guard the sea passage across the Bay of Bengal and through the straits of Malacca, which operation concluded successfully with the occupation of Penang in 1786 and Singapore in 1819".² The same writer has drawn our attention to the memoranda of some governors and statesmen as also sea-Captains and traders, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first decade

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955.

2. Ibid.

of the nineteenth century, pointing out the advantages which the Indo-British commerce could derive by establishing relations with Cochin-China.¹ He has quoted in a paper one such important memorandum by Sir Robert Townsend Farquhar, Lieutenant-Governor of Penang. In a paper, entitled *Captain Forrest in Rhio*, Dr. S. N. Das Gupta of Lucknow University noted how in 1784 Warren Hastings, in order to carry into effect his unfulfilled plan of selecting a settlement on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal to watch the doors of the Archipelago, deputed Captain Thomas Forrest, an English Officer, holding the rank of Captain in the East India Company's Navy to enter into treaty terms with any of the Malaya princes. Captain Thomas Forrest went to Rhio, the king of which place had already sent overtures of amity to the Bengal Governor. But his mission to Rhio "ended in a fiasco. The Dutch had forestalled the English move by a few months".² In 1960 the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institution, Hosiarpur, published a volume on *The Foreign Policy of Warren Hastings*. Shri Shilendra Kumar Singh (Agra) pointed out in 1953 in his paper on *Minto and Goa* how the English Company's Government in India sought to control Goa under Portuguese Government. Wellesley had arranged for a British detachment to protect Goa and also appointed a British Envoy there. In the time of Minto, Captain Courtland Schuyler was the British Envoy at Goa. Napoleon's policy in relation to Portugal from 1807 had repercussions on India. The Company's Government here considered whether to occupy Goa or leave it as before. Minto "adopted a middle course taking the entire defences of Goa into British hands but leaving the local administration".³ The same writer has studied Minto's policy in relation to Turkish Arabia (Baghdad-Bussora area).⁴ In a thesis entitled *Napoleon ET L'Orient*, (Napoleon and the East), published in 1957, which secured for its writer General Aryana a Doctorate Degree of the Paris University, one gets an account

1. Ibid., 1954.

2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1953.

3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1953.

4. Ibid., 1954.

of Napoleon's plans regarding the East, which included march into India by using Iran as a stepping stone. He has also discussed the causes of the failure of Napoleon's Eastern dream. In 1943 Shri Dharampal (then in D. A. V. College, Lahore) studied *British Relations with the Arab tribes near Aden, 1864-1868*¹ and pointed out that Sir John Lawrence was not an advocate of aggressive foreign policy though the British Resident at Aden and Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor of Bombay, were anxious to follow an aggressive policy towards the Arab tribes. The Government of India thus laid down their policy for the guidance of the Resident and the Bombay Government ; "under any circumstances, the principle of refraining from interference with the neighbouring tribes and abstaining from concern with their internal quarrels, must be vigorously maintained. The course of action hitherto observed of maintaining our relations beyond the wall of Aden, but not by direct operation on our part, but by operating through friendly chief, must still be considered a paramount obligation. Our concern is purely with the security of the fortress and its immediate approaches ; and no system which would go beyond this object can receive the countenance and support of the Government of India." In his work, entitled *Sidelights on Auckland's Foreign Policy*, published in 1958, Shri K. Sajun Lal of Osmania University has reproduced some Newsletters relating to the Afghan Policy of Lord Auckland.

In 1942 Shri Ganpat Rai (then professor of History, Hindu College, Delhi) examined in a paper Lord Mayo's diplomacy. The basis of Lord Mayo's foreign policy was suggested by him in a private letter to a friend written by him shortly after the Ambala Darbar in the following words : "Surround India with strong, friendly and independent states, who will have more interest in keeping well with us than with any other power, and we are safe." After quoting this general remark, the writer examined Lord Mayo's diplomacy and foreign policy with reference to Anglo-Bhutanese relations from 1869 to 1870 mainly on the basis of some records of the

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1943.

Imperial Record Department (subsequently National Archives of India). During the last few years some other scholars have contributed papers on this aspect of modern Indian History. These are,—*India and the Persian Gulf during East India Company's Period* by B. M. Lalwani (Bombay University), *Diplomatic History of Modern India* by Shri N. M. Shewalay (Bombay University), *Foreign Policy of Lord Curzon* by N. C. Datta (Calcutta University), *Influence of Russian Diplomacy in Central Asia on India's Foreign Relations 1856-1907*, by Shri B. D. Burman (Delhi University), *India's Policy towards South Africa, 1860-1919*, by Shri B. S. Krishnamurthy (Delhi University), *Anglo-Iranian Relations, 1919-1939*, by Shri Hari Singh (Delhi University), *India and the Persian Gulf* by Shri Ravinder (Punjab University), and *British Relation with Tibet from Warren Hastings to Lord Minto II* by Shri S. C. Bajpai (Saugar University).

To the Indian Council of World Affairs we owe the preparation of a book of the title *India in World Affairs, August 1947-January 1950*, by one of its Research Associates, Shri K. P. Karunakaran (first published by the Oxford University Press in 1952). By tracing in its earlier chapters the political and ideological background of the main lines of India's foreign policy, the author has described India's relations with Pakistan and other countries of Asia in the light of her awakening in recent times. The subject of racial discrimination in South Africa from 1891 has been critically discussed by him. He has also studied India's role in the United Nations with particular reference to the freedom of the dependent nations and political matters in the United Nations, and security problems in a divided world. After describing the organizational questions relating to the United Nations, he has reviewed in the concluding chapters the external economic relations and economic reconstruction of Asia and the Far East. Prof. Karunakar Gupta of City College, Calcutta, has also brought out recently through the World Press (P) Ltd.,

Calcutta, an interesting volume presenting therein an analytical study of Indian Foreign Policy, 1946-54. The introduction of this book contains a critical analysis of the ideological, geographical, economic, strategic and administrative factors that have moulded India's foreign policy. We get in this volume discussions about Indian policy vis-a-vis the Commonwealth and the West, Indian policy vis-a-vis Colonialism and Racism and India's role as a peace-maker.

Some years back, a book, entitled *Foundations of India's Foreign Policy Vol. I*, 1869-1882, by Dr. Bisheswar Prasad, was published by Orient Longmans Ltd. This valuable work was prepared under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, which has planned to bring out a comprehensive history of India's Foreign Policy from the nineteenth century till the attainment of Independence in 1947. This volume is the first of the contemplated work. The other volumes, expected to be shortly written, will cover highly interesting periods of the successive phases in India's struggle for freedom. In fact, the basis of new India's foreign policy is to be sought in the attitude and policy of the nationalist organisations, particularly the Indian National Congress from 1885. A valuable work dealing with the *Origins of India's Foreign Policy* during the period from 1885 to 1947, written by Dr. Bimala Prasad (then of Patna University and now Head of the School of International Studies, J. N. U., New Delhi), was published in 1960. The learned author observes in the Introduction : "It remains to add that the purpose of this study is neither to praise India's Foreign Policy, nor to criticise it, but simply to point out its origins so that it may be better understood. The Congress reacted to world affairs mostly as they arose through its resolutions and the speeches, statements and writings of its leaders. These have been analysed and suitably arranged and pattern discernible in them brought out". We may refer to some articles, viz—*Curzon and Anglo Russian Negotiations about Persia* (1895-1901) by Shri Ravinder Kumar¹, *British*

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1961.

Policy of Non-Intervention in Sino-Nepalese Affairs by Shri P. C. Roy and Mortimer Durand's Memorandum on the Internal Relations of the Government of India by Sri B. N. Tandon (Lucknow).

The Indian National Congress has continued to maintain an international outlook from its early days. With its conviction in the principle that freedom like peace is indivisible, the Indian National Congress proclaimed Indian support for the forces of democracy and progress and conveyed her messages of good will and sympathy for tormented humanity groaning under the ravages of the volcanic cataclysm of 1914-1918, under the wild triumphs of Fascism and Nazism roughly speaking from 1930, and during the Devil's Dance as it were on the surface of the kindly earth from 1939-45. The following resolution was passed at the session of the Indian National Congress, held at Madras in 1927 : "The Congress has noted with deep resentment that Indian troops have again been used by the British Government to further their imperialist designs in China and to hinder and prevent the people of China from gaining their freedom. The Congress demands that Indian troops and police forces still in China be recalled immediately and that no Indian shall go to China in future as an agent of the British Government to fight or work against the Chinese people, who, in the opinion of the Congress, are the comrades of the Indian people in their struggle against imperialism.

"The Congress declares that the people of India have no quarrel with their neighbours, and desire to live at peace with them and assert their right to determine whether or not they will take part in any war".

1930-31 was a crucial year in human history. Dr. Toynbee has characterised it as *annus terribilis*. World-wide economic depression and financial distress, attack of Japan on Manchuria in September, 1931, and the rise of new totalitarian forces in Germany and Italy, brought fundamental changes in the international situation. During this period too, the people of India expressed considerable sympathy with the victims of aggression and the Indian National Congress denounced it in clear terms. The people of India watched keenly the struggle

between the Republicans and Franco's forces in Spain and responded in large numbers to the appeal of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru for despatch of food materials to the Republican Spain. When Japan attacked China in July, 1937, the Congress passed resolutions expressing its sympathy with the Chinese people. In protest against Japanese imperialist expansionism, the Congress in its session, held at Haripura in February, 1939, urged the people of India to give up purchasing Japanese goods. Subsequently, the Congress Working Committee decided to depute to China an ambulance unit with Indian doctors. On the sad fate of Czechoslovakia after the appeasement agreement of Munich, signed in September, 1938, the Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution in October, 1938 : "The Working Committee send their profound sympathy to the brave people of Czechoslovakia in their struggle to preserve their freedom. Being themselves engaged in a war, though non-violent but none the less grim and exciting, against the greatest Imperialist power on earth, India cannot but be deeply interested in the protection of Czechoslovakian freedom."

India became an international entity in the strict sense of the term from 15th August, 1947, on being admitted to the British Commonwealth of Nations as a self-governing Dominion and an equal partner. But even before this India's voice was heard in the Councils of the world, particularly after the formation of the Interim Government in September, 1946, Shri Nehru being Vice-President and Member of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations in the Governor-General's new Executive Council which was expected to work as a Cabinet. Shri Nehru then said, "It is because of this expectation of an early realisation of full independence that we have entered the Government and we propose to function so as progressively to achieve that independence in action both in our domestic affairs and our foreign relations. We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation." India began to play an important part in the Gene-

ral Assembly of the United Nations, which was well recognised abroad. Mr. H. V. Evatt, Australian Minister of External Affairs, observed in a speech in the Australian House of Representatives on the 26th February, 1947 : "India has achieved an independent national status in international affairs as evidenced by her active part at recent International Conferences."

After Independence, India has definitely assumed an important role in world affairs. In spite of the threat to world harmony due to the emergence of two power blocks, the Korean crisis, the regrettable apartheid policy in South Africa, and the lingering remnants of imperialism in South East Asia, India's foreign policy has been characterised by emphasis on peace and harmony and emancipation of down-trodden nations from the shackles of imperialism or the exploitation by the powerful. Replying to a debate on foreign policy in the Constituent Assembly, India's Foreign Minister observed in March, 1948 : "Because of our past record in India that is the anti-imperialist record, we have not been *Persona Grata* with any group and people outside." It is clear to all that the chief objective of India's foreign policy has been raising her voice for the restoration of sanity in human affairs. Shri Nehru observed in his own characteristic way in a speech delivered by him in our Parliament on the 14th May, 1953 : "The world is full of problems and a tortured humanity seeks anxiously for some relief from its fears and burdens. In this tragic drama a measure of responsibility comes to us in this great country. We have enough of our problems here and they consume our thoughts and energy, but we cannot isolate ourselves from the great brotherhood of the nations and from the common problems that affect humanity. Whether we wish it or not, fate and circumstances have cast this responsibility upon us and we must discharge it. In the manner that we, in common with other countries, discharge it will depend whether our generation and the next will live in peace and bring about the progressive happiness of mankind or suffer irretrievable disaster. That responsibility we can only discharge if

we are united and hold together remembering always our high ideals and objectives and not allowing ourselves to be swept away by the fear or passions of the moment."

In the world to-day, humanity, not yet relieved of the malignant ravages of the two World Wars fought in the course of three decades, is panting for peace. There was formal cessations of hostilities some years back. But where is peace yet in the true sense of the term? The lessons of Vienna, Berlin and Versailles do clearly tell us that mere paper agreements are not sure guarantees for peace, harmony, and human happiness. With all that has been debated upon or adumbrated at Geneva or Locarno or the U. N. O. or in the recently convened conferences, international amity still remains an unrealised dream. The recent Geneva agreement raised hopes in certain minds but the S. E. A. T. O. pact of eight members—Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, Britain and the United States and the Baghdad Pact caused misgivings here and there.

Moreover, in the conditions as they continued to prevail, the spiritual values of life seemed to be jeopardised. The mad race for armaments on the part of the major powers still forms a grave menace to humanity and the threat of another cataclysm seems to be hanging over its destiny almost like the sword of Damocles. The efforts made on several occasions, in 1919, 1930, 1932-34, 1935, 1936 and 1948, and afterwards, for the limitation of armaments have produced no positive results. Further, the nuclear weapons and destructive armaments acutely perturb saner minds as of whether their effects would not produce a total devastation. Civilization is, in fact, faced with destruction and fear oppresses mankind. Towards the end of November 1954, Prince Louis de Broglie, a leading French Physicist and Nobel prize winner, warned the world against the reckless hydrogen experiments because the danger point had already been reached for the world's human, animal and plant life. There is America's cry of "atoms for peace." On the other side is the demand for international agreement to reduce armaments and ban the

atom and hydrogen bombs. On the 18th February, 1955, in a statement broadcast by the Moscow Radio, Russia proposed that nations should pledge themselves (1) to destroy stock of atom and Hydrogen weapons and use atomic power exclusively for peaceful purposes, (2) not to increase their armed forces or armaments or their military budgets above the level of January 1, 1955.

On this vital matter and against the disastrously misleading conception of security on the part of some nations, India has asserted boldly her time honoured convictions. Our veteran patriot and statesman Shri C. Rajagopalachari, spoke at Madras on the 17th February, 1955 : "Whatever the politics of the issue of nuclear weapons may be, the world has some right of protection against the proved and admitted consequences of these tests." Writing from Madras to the *New Statesman and Nation*, he declared, "The only way to get control over this hellish power that has been created is not the retaining of the power for purposes of retaliation, but unilaterally giving it up on your part." The truest ideal of India to promote world peace and harmony was splendidly expressed by our President in his speech at the inaugural joint sitting of the two chambers of the Parliament on the 21st February, 1953, when he observed, "These five principles which are sometimes referred to as the *Panch Shila*, are mutual respect for each other, territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. I commend these principles to you and earnestly trust that they will increasingly form the basis of international relations, thus ensuring peace and security all over the world."

Peace is the most imperative need of the hour. But unfortunately there has been a prolonged stalemate in great power relations. What the world wants for real peace is not a mere stroke of pen or an assemblage at Geneva or Washington, but a change of spirit, a genuine reorientation of outlook. Modern India is playing a vital role for their development.

I had the privilege of delivering the Kamala Lectures of

the University of Calcutta for 1967 in 1969 on '*Modern India and World Fellowship*'. I have discussed in these lectures Modern India's contribution towards the development of internationalism and world fellowship to the relief of tormented humanity. It was published by Macmillan and Co. Limited.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT

Section IV

Since the attainment of Independence a new spirit of awakening has stirred Indian minds. Under its stimulating influence earnest efforts are being made for the last few years to study and interpret correctly the growth of political consciousness in renaissant India and the various stages of the Indian National Movement, roughly speaking, from the early years of the nineteenth century. This is indeed a stupendous but a sacred task. The scheme for writing an authentic and comprehensive history of the Indian national struggle was originally recommended by the Indian Historical Records Commission at its Jaipur Session in 1948, and when Dr. Rajendra Prasad invited the attention of the Government of India to the urgency of this work, the Ministry of Education, Government of India, took necessary steps for the planning and execution of this project. An Experts Committee, consisting of some prominent historians of our country, was constituted to suggest ways and means to facilitate the collection of materials for this purpose. The Experts Committee soon made various valuable recommendations. A Central Board, with its office at New Delhi, was set up for this work, and Committees were also formed in the different States to search for and collect materials from all possible sources. Recently it has been decided that the materials collected for this work would now be stored in the National Archives of India. The state Committees continued to function.

It is significant to note that the Bihar Government was the first to formulate a plan for the preparation of a volume of government records found at Bhagalpur and Dumka. The expansion of the British dominion in India and the growth of an Indo-British administrative system, naturally conducted India through manifold processes of transition, political, economic and social. This, for diverse reasons, generated fumes of discontent among various sections of the people in different parts of India which burst into flames in the move-

ment of 1857-59. But already before this wide movement, a considerable insurrection had broken out in the year 1855 in the areas now represented by the Bihar district of Santal Parganas, a part of the Bhagalpur district and also a portion of the Birbhum district. All these apparently unconnected disturbances were really the manifestations of the reaction against the new political fact of British dominion and government. My work on *Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh* was published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, in 1957. It is based on a comprehensive study of various contemporary sources and presents a detailed account of the role of Bihar in the Indian Movement of 1857-59 under the inspiring leadership of Kunwar Singh, who was ably assisted by his brother Amar Singh and some other local leaders. My book on 'Anti-British Plots and Movements before 1857' was published by Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, in 1970.

In 1953 came out a volume on *Civil Disturbances in India, 1765-1857*, written by Dr. S. B. Chaudhury, then Professor of History, Burdwan University. Chapter I of this book is a historical background. Chapter II contains descriptions of the disturbances in Bengal and Upper India, viz. *Revolt of the Rajas of Dhalbhum (1769-74)*, *Major Hannay's Black Rule in Bihar (1778-81)*, *Rebellion at Rangpur (1783)*, *Rebellion of Bishnupur (1789)*, *Rebellion of the Chuars (1799)*, *Disturbances in Sylhet (1799)*, *Revolt of Vizier Ali (1799)*, *Disturbances in Bundelkhand (1808-12)*, *Commotion at Benares (1810-11)*, *Rising at Bareilly (1816)*, *Conquest of the fort of Hathras (1817)*, *Insurrection of the Paiks at Cuttack (1817-18)*, *Rising of the Cujars (1824)*, *Rebellion at Baraset (1831)*, *Explosion of the Kols (1831-2)*, *Revolt of Ganganarayan of Manbhumi (1832)*, *Explosion of the Khassis (1829-33)*, *Insurrection of the Pagal Panthis at Sherpur (1833)*, *Explosion of the Kukis (1844-50)*, *Disturbances in Assam (1830-50)*, *Explosion of the Khonds (1846)*, *Ferazi disturbances (1838-47)*, *Explosion of the Santals (1855-56)*.

In Chapter III we have an account of the risings in Madras and Southern India viz. *Revolt of Vizieram Rauze (1799-1800)*, *Revolt of the Pyche Raja (1796-1805)*, *Struggle of*

the Poligars in Tinneveli (1801), Suppression of the Poligars in the Oded District (1801-5), Struggle of the Poligars in North Arcot (1803-5), Struggle for independence in Travancore (1808-9). Rebellion at Mysore (1830-1), Disturbances in Parlakimedi Estates (1813-34), Disturbances in Vizagapatam District (1830-34), Struggle in Ganjam (1800-5), and Cumsur (1835-7), and Rising of Narasimha Reddi (1846-7).

Chapter IV deals with the risings in Bombay and Western India, such as *Risings at Kittur* (182 and 1829), *Rising of the Rambasis at Poona* (1826-9), *Explosion of the Bhils* (1818-31), *Disturbances in Cutch* (1815-32), *Gadkari rising at Kolhapur* (1844), *Koli Outrages* (1828-30, 1839 and 1844-48), *Outbreak in Savantvadi* (1844), *Survey Riot* (1852). *Disturbances in the Bombay Presidency, Disturbances in Jat, Rajput and Maratha Countries, Disturbances in the Frontier Provinces.*

Chapter V contains an account of the incidents in Ceylon, Burma and Malacca. The author has given his concluding remarks in the last (VI) Chapter.

In the Appendix we get a note on the communal Disturbances in India (1765-1857) and a Political Map of India.

This volume is a critical historical work prepared after a searching scrutiny of authentic sources of different kinds. The author has in fact unfolded a new chapter in the history of British Rule in India by describing the reactions to the growing political authority of the English in India among various sections of the people during about a century of gigantic transformation in the political destiny and the varied conditions of life in this vast country. Dr. Chaudhury has rightly noted that the *Pax Britannica* in India was only a very relative peace and that there was plenty of opposition from substantial sections of the common people often enough." (*Introduction*).

Popular commotions and discontents, finding expression in civil disturbances in all parts of India as a sort of resistance to British rule, have been critically examined by him with reference to the various socio-economic forces, which were generated by the Industrial Revolution and penetrated into this land in the wake of British Political Supremacy. The

author does not want to give the impression that those who organised the disturbances mentioned by him had any "comprehension of the conception of patriotism and national sentiment . . ." In his concluding remarks he observes significantly : "While, therefore, there is not much to show that the Indian masses in the eighteenth century took any view of the change in the political complexion of the country, it would be idle to maintain that the socio-economic system of the alien rule did not impinge on them and that they had no specific grievance to allege, though for obvious reasons there did not follow any general outcry against the intrusive elements. However much the Indian peasantry was impoverished under the long pressure of grievous oppressions ; so much so, that they could not be stirred up to sedition even by illegal exaction as Moira, Malcolm and Munro would have us believe, the Indian peasant returned to the attack on the foreigner who was pressing him in all directions, political, social and economic, for, such tremendous explosions like the insurrection of Bengal, the insurrection at Mysore and the Poligar revolts of South India cannot be traced by any stretch of imagination to the grievances only of a particular class of individuals, namely the zamindars. Even in the revolt of 1857 which was an upheaval chiefly of a military character, the leaders of the movement had the support of the masses of Indian peasantry in their struggle, though as a class they did not break out in any open rebellion during these critical days. But soon after, a violent agitation of indigo cultivators swept like a tidal wave over the province of Bengal (1859-60) . "

In his another book, entitled *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies*, published by the World Press, Calcutta, in 1957, Dr. S. B. Chaudhury has tried to present 'the history of the civil rebellion in the Indian mutinies" in a connected form, "its scope, and character, the class of the people participating in it and the effect produced in the direction and dimension of this vast conflagration and in the prolongation of the conflict and its consequences."

I am profoundly thankful to the authorities of my alma-

mater, the University of Calcutta, one of the premier centres of learning and research, for their kindness in inviting me to deliver the Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures for the year 1964. These lectures were delivered in 1965 and published by the University of Calcutta in 1967. The subject of my lectures was '*Reflections on the Mutiny*'. In these I have discussed the genesis, nature and effects of this great Movement of 1857-59. In 1963 appeared from the Clarendon Press, Oxford, an interesting work on 'Nana Sahib And The Rising Act Cawnpore' by Dr. Pratul Chandra Gupta. It contains many significant details. The Mutiny and Revolt of 1857—A Survey in Retrospection by Dr. N. K. Sinha has been published in *Bengal : Past and Present, July-December, 1972*. In this article Dr. N. K. Sinha has examined critically the views of Dr. R. C. Majumdar about Ram Mohan Roy and has not agreed with these.

Scholars in different parts of India have tried to collect materials for the history of freedom movement in their respective areas and have contributed articles relating to it. References may be made in this connection to the following : (a) The rebellion of *Man Singh Rao Patankar*¹ by Dr. Hiralal Gupta, (b) *The Early Phase of the Resistance Movement in the North-East Frontier*² by Dr H. K. Barpujari, (c) *Political Significance of the Movement of Syed Ahmed Brailvi*³ by Prof. S. H. Askari, (d) *The Mysore Rising of 1830*⁴ by Dr. B. A. Saletore, (e) *New Light on the Resistance Movement in the North-East Frontier (1829-31)*⁵ by Dr. H. K. Barpujari, (f) *The Patna Conspiracy of 1887*⁶ by Dr. Jata Shankar Jha (Patna), (g) *Indigo in North Bihar and Mahatma Gandhi*⁷ by Dr. Hari Ranjan Ghosal (Muzaffarpur), (h) *The Indian*

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1953.

2. Ibid., 1955.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., 1956.

6. Ibid.,

7. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1952.

National Movement and Anglo-Russian Rivalry¹ by Dr. Bimla Prasad (Patna), (i) *The Contribution of the Press to the development of National ideas and disaffection against the British rule²* by Dr. K. L. Srivastava (Bhopal), (j) *Freedom Movement in Assam in the Nineteenth Century³* by Shri K. N. Dutt, (k) *An Anti-British plot in Bihar in 1845⁴* by Dr. K. K. Dutt, (l) *Pre-Mutiny Raji-Mels of Assam⁵* by Shri K. N. Dutt, (m) *Chaur Rebellion in the Punjab⁶* by Shri Kripal Singh, (n) *Early Rebellions against Company Rule in Baghelkhan (1802-14)⁷* by Shri Kameshwar Jha, (o) *A Pioneer of the Freedom Movement, Gajula Lakshmi Narsu Setti* by Shri Y. Vilpel Rao, (p) *The First Phase of the History of Freedom Movement in Bhopal State* by Dr. K. L. Srivastava, *A contemporary Account of the Indian Movement of 1857-59* by Dr. K. K. Datta,⁸ *Nature of the Indian Revolt of 1857-59* by Dr. K. K. Datta,⁹ *Indian Movement of 1857-59 and its Reactions Abroad* by Dr. K. K. Datta,¹⁰ *Popular Discontent in Bihar on the eve of the Movement of 1857-59* by Dr. K. K. Datta,¹¹ *Rebellion of the Raja of Khurda against the British* by Dr. Bhavani Charan Ray of Cuttack.¹² In his paper on *Some Mutiny Telegrams in the Bihar State Archives*,¹³ late Shri Narayan Saran, Record-Keeper in this Archives, has studied the telegrams received and despatched by the Commissioner of the Patna Division during the period of 1857-59, which present a first-hand day to day account of the movement throughout the Lower Provinces. Shri M. H. Rizawi, Keeper of Records, National

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1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1952.
 2. Ibid., 1954.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ib d., 1955-56.
 6. Ibid., 1954.
 7. Ibid., 1955-56.
 8. Journal of the Bihar Research Society, 1950.
 9. Bengal : Past and Present , 1954.
 10. Journal of the Bihar Research Society, 1953.
 11. Bengal : Past and Present, 1945.
 12. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1958.
 13. Ibid., 1960.

Archives, Bhopal, wrote a note on *Tatya Tope in Bhopal*,¹ on the basis of some unpublished documents of his Archives which furnish a graphic account of Tatya Tope's march from Bhilsa to Pathuri Ghat on the Narmada and of some of his other activities. In his papers on *New Aspects of the Santal Insurrection of 1855-56* and *More Lights on the Santal Insurrection*,² Prof. N. B. Ray of Visvabharati brought to light a few important letters relating to the subject. Late Dr. A. P. Jha, a Research Assistant of the State Central Archives, Patna, contributed some interesting papers on (a) *The Nature of the Santal Unrest of 1871-75*, (b) *Origins of Sapha Hor Movement* and (c) *Sir Charles Metcalfi's Views on the Nature of Civil Disturbances in India*.³ Dr. M. N. Das of Cuttack has contributed a paper on *Pre-Mutiny Revolts in Princely States of Orissa*.⁴ We may refer to the paper on *The Impact of the Mutiny on British attitudes to India* by Mr. Thomas R. Metcalf⁵ and Prof. N. B. Ray's paper on *Bahadur Shah II as reflected in his Diwan*.⁶

Dr. N. L. Chatterjee has drawn our attention to an interesting *Mutiny Paper of Mirza Bijji's Qadir Ramzan Ali Bahadur*⁷ which shows the connection of the Army Officers with the Mughal Government of Delhi. Shri P. N. Chopra, Compiler, Gazetteer Unit, New Delhi, has contributed a paper on the *Character of the Wahabi Movement*⁸ in which he observes that the Wahabi movement, "though sectarian, never came into conflict with the Hindus after the extinction of the Sikh State." Dr. R. C. Majumdar has critically studied an unpublished document which reveals some new facts and instances relating to the Rebellion in Manipur in 1891.⁹ Dr.

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1961.
2. Ibid., 1960.
3. Ibid., 1961.
4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1959.
5. Ibid., 1960.
6. Ibid.
7. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1960.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.

Amalesh Tripathi of Presidency College, Calcutta, has studied the attitude of the British Government to the newly founded Indian National Congress on the basis of a few letters of Kimberley and Cross, the Secretaries of State for India in the 1880's, to Lord Dufferin.¹ Shri R. P. Patwardhan, Professor of History, Poona University, has studied some correspondence between Sir George Birdwood and Dada Bhai Naoroji, which throws interesting light on their personalities and mutual relations.²

Some works relating to India's freedom struggle which have been under preparation in the Calcutta University, are *National Awakening in India (Pre-Congress period)* by Shri Sudhangshu Bhushan Chandra, *The Evolution of Social, Economic, Cultural and Political Organisation in Bengal from Rammohan to Surendranath* by Subrata Majumdar, and *Bepin Chandra Pal and His Times* by Pushpita Mukerjee. Reference may be made to the papers on *Some unpublished Documents regarding the Mutiny of 1857* by Dr. R. C. Majumdar,³ *Western innovations and the Rising of 1857* by Dr. Manmatha Nath Das⁴, *Political Unrest in Bengal, 1906-1918* by Shri Hirendra Nath Chakravarty, *Origin and Development of the Indian National Congress, 1885-1909*, by Smt. Kalyani Chatterjee, *The Growth of Political Consciousness in India, 1858-1885*, by Smt. Sujata Ghosh, and *The Nationalist Movement in Bengal in the early years of the twentieth century* by Smt. Uma Mukhopadhyay. Smt. Sujata Roy Chowdhury, Smt. Damayanti Saran, Shri Bireswar Nath Mandal, Shri Haridev Sharma, Shri Uma Shankar Srivastava and Usha H. Chandra have been engaged in working respectively on the subjects like *Public Opinion in Bengal in the Mid-Nineteenth Century and Social and Political Role of the Brahmo Samaj*, and *Public Opinion in Bengal from 1870-1905, Non-Co-operation Movement (1919-1920), The Ideological Basis of the Indian National Movement, and History*

1. Progs. Indian Historical Records Commission, 1960.

2. Ibid., 1961.

3. Bengal : Past and Present, 1957.

4. Ibid.

of Political Movement in India, 1906-1919 (Delhi University). Shri Sitaram Singh of L. S. College, Muzaffarpur, is writing a thesis on *Nationalism and Social Reforms in India*.

Reference may be made to some other works on India's Freedom Movement undertaken in the Punjab University. These are—*History of Freedom Movement in India from 1920 to 1937* by Shri M. K. Dhawan, *Role of women in the Freedom Movement of India* by Kum. M. Kaur, *History of Indian Freedom Struggle during 1937-1947* by Shri J. L. Mehta and *History of Freedom Movement in India, 1909-1919* by Shri J. Mitter.

In 1957 Dr. Hira Lal Gupta wrote a paper on *The Revolt of 1857 and its Failure*¹ emphasising the national character of this movement. Analysing the causes of its failure, he writes : "In short, the war of liberation was fought with incomplete plans and a disunited country, scanty resources and unscientific methods, and worn-out principles and wornout arms." In 1958 he contributed a paper on the *Revolt of 1857 in the Saugar and Narbada Territories*.² A paper on *Guracharan Singh's Mission in Central Asia* by Shri P. C. Roy brings "to light the figure of a little known Kuka patriot, who suffered immense hardship to keep alive the flame of rebellion against British rule in the Punjab following the suppression of the anti-British uprisings of the Kukas in 1872." Shri J. M. Surpakkar (Bombay University) has written an account of the *Movement of 1857 in Maharashtra*. In his article on *The Congress and Russophobia*³ Dr. N. L. Chatterjee has pointed out how the Indian National Congress "was ushered into existence to mobilise the public opinion in favour of the British connection, sing the praises of Pax Britannica and counteract the possibility of Russian intrigue in India." In 1960 he wrote an article on *The Congress Session of 1907*.⁴ An article on *Motilal Nehru—An estimate* by Dr. Lal Bahadur⁵ came in the same year, and Dr.

1. Journal of Indian History, December, 1957.

2. Ibid., April, 1958.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., April, 1960.

5. Ibid.

M. M. Ahhuwalia of National Archives, New Delhi, contributed a paper on *Press and India's Struggle for Freedom, 1850-1909*. Two scholars of Agra University, Shri R. S. Tiwari and Shri R. C. Tripathi have studied respectively the subjects like *The War of Independence in Oudh 1857-58* and *The Mutiny of 1857 Kanpur with special reference to the role of Nana Sahib Dhondu Pant*. *The Revolt of 1857 in Bundelkhand* has been studied in the Allahabad University by Shri S. N. Sinha. Some interesting papers contributed in 1961 are—*Nature of the Kol Insurrection of 1831-32* by Dr. J. C. Jha (Patna), *1857 in Bombay* by J. M. Surpakkar (Bombay University), *Growth of Nationalism in 19th century India, seen from the Particular Aspect of the Idea of Nation* by Mr. Johannes Voigt (Chandigarh). *The Racial Question and Liberal English Opinion as Reflected in the Friend of India, from the Mutiny to the Ilbert Bill*, by Shrimati Sujata Ghosh (Calcutta) and *The British View of the Hindu-Muslim attitude towards the Partition of Bengal and its Result* by Dr. M. N. Das (Cuttack). Shri Debendra Nath Panigrahi (Delhi University) prepared a thesis on *Resistance to British Rule in India, 1800-1857*. In an article on *New Light on the Revolt of 1857 at Azamgarh*, published in 1956,¹ Dr. N. L. Chatterjee asserted on the basis of some contemporary official documents that during the Revolt of 1857 the town of Azamgarh and the adjacent countryside became independent of British authority for some months.

We get a detailed account of the important role of the Indian Association in India's freedom struggle from its inauguration in 1876 till 1951, in a volume on the Indian Association prepared by Shri Jogesh Chandra Bagal, well-known for his valuable contributions in the field of historical research, and published by the Council of Indian Association, Calcutta, in 1953. In 1959 Prof. M. S. Jain of Aligarh discussed in a paper the organisation and activities of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association.

The Government of Assam published in April, 1956, an account of the materials, collected in that State till the 15th

1. *Journal of Indian History, December, 1956.*

November, 1955, for the History of Freedom Movement and compiled by Shri K. N. Dutt, Research Officer of the Assam Government, for this work.

In his book, entitled *Landmarks of the Freedom Struggle in Assam*, which came out in January 1958, Shri K. N. Dutt has indicated the landmarks in the history of Freedom Movement in Assam from the early years of the 19th century. The State Committee for compilation of History of Freedom Movement in Orissa has brought out some volumes containing valuable information collected from original sources. A connected account of the freedom struggle in Hyderabad was prepared by the Hyderabad State Committee for compilation of such a work and two volumes of it were published in 1956. The first volume deals with the period from 1800 to 1857, and the second, with the period from 1857 to 1885. A volume containing records relating to the Freedom Movement in the Uttar Pradesh, edited by Shri S. A. Rizvi and Shri M. L. Bhargava, came out in 1957.

The Indian National Congress has, from its very origin, rendered immense services to the cause of nationalism. The history of India's freedom movement from 1917, when Mahatma Gandhi by undertaking a mission to Champaran, an area of historic importance in Bihar, made his first successful experiment in India's new nationalism, till 1942, is full of inspiring episodes. The Indian Revolution of 1942 is one of the most stirring movements of modern history. In this epic struggle of India for liberty there was a thrill of inspiration and a spontaneous and marvellous response from one end of the country to the other. The people boldly courted imprisonment and brasted severest ordeals through immense sacrifices. The logic of events following it facilitated India's march to freedom and attainment of Independence in 1947.

For the long history of Indian nationalism we have, besides some general works, such as *Indian National Evolution* by Shri A. C. Mazumdar, *Landmarks in India's Constitutional and National Development* by Shri G. N. Singh etc., records of personal experiences of some great leaders, whose sincere

efforts and sacrifices contributed to its growth and ultimate success. Chronologically viewed such works are *Speeches of Gokhale* (1908), Dr. Annie Besant's two books, *India A Nation* (1915) and *How India wrought Her Freedom* (1915), Shri Bal-gangadhar Tilak's *Writings and Speeches* (1922), Shri Aurobindo's *Speeches* (1922), Sir Surendranath Banerjea's *A Nation in Making* (1925), B. C. Pal's *Memories of My Life and Times*, Vol. I (1932) and Vol. II (published in 1951 though completed earlier). The autobiographies of Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad are extremely valuable records for the study of this subject. Dr. Rajendra Prasad's *Champaran Satyagraha* was the first detailed work describing Mahatma Gandhi's mission in Champaran which was an event of the utmost significance in the history of Indian nationalism, as it not only freed the ryots of this area from a long tyranny of the indigo planters but generated in their minds feelings of regard for truth and fearlessness and also taught them self help. All these qualities stood them in a good stead in their fights for freedom during the subsequent periods. *The Diary* (first published in 1953) of Shri Mahadev Desai, who became Gandhiji's Secretary towards the end of 1917 and died a martyr's death in prison on the 15th August, 1942, contains lot of important correspondence and notes in relation to our national struggle. Shri D. G. Tendulkar's eight volumes on *Mahatma* is a monumental work of great value, containing Mahatma Gandhi's writings and speeches in full or in extracts, and with numerous important illustrations collected from different sources and arranged by Shri Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri. Shri Pyarelal, who was for a long time Mahatma Gandhi's private secretary, and, after Shri Mahadev Desai's death, editor of the *Harijan* weeklies, which Mahatma Gandhi was conducting, has dealt with the last phase of Mahatma Gandhi's career in ample details in the two volumes of his monumental work on *Mahatma Gandhi : The Last Phase* (published by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, Vol. I in 1956 and Vol. 2 in 1958). I have edited a volume containing the writings and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi

relating to Bihar, 1917-1949, which was published by the Bihar Government in 1950. Growing literature on Shri Aurobindo unfolds many thrilling incidents and deals with his religious devotion to the cause of nationalism during a very critical phase. Some works of importance in this respect are *Shri Aurobindo on Himself and the Mother* (1953), *Shri Aurobindo and His Ashram* (1951), *Mahayogi* (August, 1953) by Shri R. R. Diwakar, and two books by Shri Sisir Kumar Mitra, entitled (1) *Shri Aurobindo and Indian Freedom* and (2) *The Liberator*.

The history of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1906-1909) has been critically described in a book on *India's Fight for Freedom*, written by Prof. Haridas Mukherjee and Prof. Uma Mukherjee and published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay of Calcutta in August, 1958. A paper on *Curzon's successors and the Partition of Bengal: A conflict in Conscience*, written by Dr. M. N. Das of Utkal University, had come out some years back¹. The writer discusses here the "problem which Curzon's successors had to face in working out the Partition." Shri R. P. Saksena of Rajasthan University has written on *The contribution of the Religious Movement to the Political Renaissance in India*. In 1959 Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya wrote a paper on *An intercepted letter of Keir Hardie* (M. P. from 1900 till his death in 1915 and the first socialist member to be elected to the British House of Commons) to Bal Gangadhar Tilak² on the 31st March, 1911, with a proposal to hold a session of the Indian National Congress in London "to educate public opinion of Britain on Indian questions".

One phase of Indian nationalism is the struggle abroad of some prominent patriots and their followers. This is being exhaustively studied by Prof. Arun Coomar Bose previously of Visvabharati University and now in Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of original sources available in India and out-

1. *Journal of Indian History*, December, 1961.
2. *Ibid.*, April, 1959.

side. In 1959 Mr. John W. Spellman contributed a paper on *The International Extensions of Political Conspiracy, as illustrated by the Ghadr Party*. Shri K. K. Motra has prepared a thesis on *History of the Terrorist Movement in India from the beginning to 1919 (with special reference to Bengal)* in the Rajasthan University. Shri D. N. Chaturvedi has been engaged in studies relating to the *Origin and Growth of Terrorist Movement in India with special reference to U. P.* Some years back appeared a volume on *The Indian Revolt of 1942* by Dr. Amba Prasad of Delhi University.

Dr. Lal Bahadur of Agra College brought out (October, 1954) a volume on the history, activities and achievements of the Muslim League in India by utilising all available sources of information. In his main thesis the author has discussed the political and social conditions of the Mussalmans before the Muslim League, the Simla Deputation and birth of the League, attitude of the League towards the Partition of Bengal, World War I and the League's attitude in relation to it, the Home Rule Movement and Hindu-Muslim concordat, the League's attitude towards the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, Khilafat and Non-Co-operation Movements, Mr. Jinnah's personality and political views when he joined the League, the Simon Commission, Nehru Report and the Round Table Conference, the Act of 1935 and after and the Congress League conflict, Congress Ministries and the League's opposition, World War II and its repercussions on the political condition in India, the Pakistan Resolution of Lahore in 1940 and the League's propaganda till 1945, the Simla Conference and the Cabinet Mission, the communal riots and the League's responsibility for these and the partition of India. In the epilogue he has estimated the success and failure of the League by describing it as a "Fascist Body" and by what he calls 'a psycho-analysis' of its propaganda.

In 1969 the Government of Bihar published another book of mine, entitled *Gandhiji in Bihar*, which contains descriptions of Mahatma Gandhi's tours from 1917-1947 in what he described as 'my beloved Bihar'. His speeches during these

tours are full of highly significant and inspiring observations. Diary of Shri Mathura Prasad, Secretary of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, records day to day events of importance for some years. Shri Yogendra Sukul, a fearless revolutionary and nationalist, supplied to me, shortly before his death, a copy of his autobiography which is full of thrilling accounts of his career and activities.

Bihar played a marvellous role in the successive phases of India's battle for liberty. Undaunted by the rigours of Governmental repression, prompted by a sense of genuine and selfless devotion, and with immense sacrifices many of her sons took part in it with profound enthusiasm and made significant contributions for attainment of freedom. Late Shri Janakdhari Prasad was one of them, the story of whose unstinted devotion to the cause of freedom at the cost of personal interests deserves to be rightly recorded.

Recently came out in Hindi an autobiography of Shri Janakdhari which is an interesting and valuable record of the varied experiences in connection with India's struggle for freedom and other allied matters.

Bihar was fortunate in getting inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi since the year 1917, when he came to Champaran in response to the appeals of the downtrodden peasants of the European indigo planters. He was assisted in his mission of delivering the peasants from grinding socio-economic anomalies by a band of faithful Bihari co-workers, like Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Shri Brajkishore Prasad, Acharya Kripalani, Shri Anugraha Narain Sinha, Shri Sambhu Saran and some others. Shri Janakdhari Prasad was also one of them. As a matter of fact, zealous activities of those companions of Gandhiji in Bihar produced highly fruitful results. Mahatma Gandhi's Champaran mission was an event of utmost significance in the history of Bihar, nay of India, as a whole. It was, as he himself said truly, "a bold experiment with truth and Ahimsa".

As one of the most devoted followers of Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Janakdhari Prasad solicited and obtained Gandhiji's advice regarding important matters on many occasions as we know from their mutual correspondence. Mahatma Gandhi wrote

in one of his letters to Shri Janakdhari Prasad, dated 6th March, 1925 : "I treasure the memory of the faithful co-workers of Champaran. I shall never have and never had a more faithful band to work with. If I had such a band throughout India, Swaraj would not be long in coming to India."

Unassuming and simple in habits and with unflinching faith in Gandhian ideals, Shri Janakdhari Prasad served the cause of our country in various ways throughout his life. This example should serve as a source of inspiration to all of us today, when the most serious malady in our national life and society is the growing eclipse of the fundamental values of life and sense of discipline without which true progress of democracy is bound to be impeded.

I feel highly gratified that the worthy sons of Shri Janakdhari Prasad (Shri Madan Mohan Prasad, Income Tax Officer and Shri Anand Varma, I.P.) and his son-in-law Shri Hari Shankar Prasad Sinha of the Department of Political Science, Patna College, have brought out this manuscript work of this revered personality who was indeed a national leader of saintly character.

One important contribution in the history of Indian Nationalism is the book, entitled 'The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908'. In eleven chapters it contains a detailed and highly critical account of the different phases of the Swadeshi Movement. In another book Dr. Sumit Sarkar significantly observes at the beginning of the Introduction : "The present work attempts a detailed study of a five-year period in Bengal's history which despite its brief duration has come to occupy a notable place in the historiography of nationalism and in the collective memory of our people." The book is based on various original sources, the most significant of these which the author justly claims to have unearthed are the collections of private papers which he has mentioned in the Bibliography.

For the thesis, entitled 'Raja Ram Mohun Roy and Indian Awakening in the 19th Century & Socio-Religious', Shri Mohan Chandra Kotnala, obtained the Ph.D. Degree of the Agra

University in 1930. In this thesis the candidate has presented a comprehensive account of the career and multiple personality of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, who has been justly described as the "herald of a new age" and as "the Father of Modern India". He has carefully reviewed the various aspects of Raja Ram Mohun's life from his birth and heredity till his death outside.

Already we had a number of good works regarding this great man. The candidate has studied all these and also some contemporary accounts of Indians as well as Europeans with due care and scrutiny. Besides marshalling the facts, gathered from these, according to the up-to-date methods of historical researches, he has indicated critically the influence of the varied phases of Ram Mohun's career and activities during his life time and also the legacy of inspiration he bequeathed for the succeeding generations which helped the forward march of India in different spheres—political, social and religious,—and a brilliant flowering of her genius through western education and a marvelous cultural renaissance.

In 1963 Shri K.K. Mitra obtained Ph.D. Degree of the University of Rajasthan on a thesis, entitled "History of the Terrorist Movement in India from the Beginning to 1919 (with special reference to Bengal)." The candidate has presented a detailed account of the various societies, groups and sub-groups of the Indian Terrorist Movement and their activities in and outside India, with special reference to Bengal. He has collected plenty of new information from various original sources.

In 1963 Shri Bipan Chandra obtained Ph. D. Degree of the Delhi University on the thesis, entitled "Economic Policies of Indian National Leadership, 1880 to 1905". The candidate claims to have examined in this work "the economic policies of the Indian National leadership during the formative period of the Indian National movement before the Swadeshi agitation carried it forward to a higher and different plane" (preface). He points out that he has been "concerned not with the correctness or otherwise of nationalist attitudes and policies as judged according to the canons of the science of economics, but with what the Indian leaders said and their manners of saying it and what can be

learnt therefrom about their basic political and economic understanding and approach" (preface). He has discussed different aspects of this interesting and important subject in fifteen chapters. In chapter one he has shown how the problem of India's poverty "was the centre of the stage in Indian politics" in the early days of Indian National Movement. From 1886 the Indian National Congress made the question of India's appalling poverty "an article of its faith". It has been noted by him that "apart from advancing positive grounds to prove the existence of extreme poverty in India, the Indian National leadership controverted vigorously the counter-arguments put forth by the British Indian administrators and writers to show that there was abundance and prosperity in the land". He has clearly elucidated the views of the Indian national leaders and also of the British administrators regarding the causes of poverty in India. In chapter two we get a discussion of the factors which were responsible, according to the Indian nationalists, for the decay of India's old indigenous industries and also of the arguments advanced by them for industrialisation of India. "The Indian leadership was of the view", remarks the candidate, "that Indian industries had been readily, so easily destroyed because the British rulers had used their political control over India to impose unfair means of competition in trade between the two countries". He has also indicated the effects of superior manufacturing technique of England on Indian manufactures. We are told how "having argued that the decay of indigenous industries lay at the root of the poverty of India, the Indian nationalists naturally made the protection, rehabilitation, reorganisation and modernisation of handicrafts an important plank in their programme for checking further regression in the material condition of the masses and for the economic revival of the country". The demand of the Indian nationalists for rapid industrialisation of the country and their urge to industrialise the country by harnessing internal sources of capital and enterprise have been well discussed by him. The third chapter also relates to Industry in which the views of the Indian national

leaders regarding the economic evils and political danger of the use of foreign capital and in advocating state-aid in the process of industrialisation have been critically examined by the writer. He has also traced the genesis of the Swadeshi idea from the middle of the nineteenth century and has shown that the opposition of an influential group of nationalist leaders and Indian millowners prevented the Swadeshi movement from becoming powerful and widespread before 1905.

The fourth chapter contains a description of India's Foreign Trade in the period under review with a historical perspective from about the middle of the nineteenth century. This trade was marked for the most part of this period by excess of exports over imports, which was not, in the opinion of the Indian national leaders, "a true export surplus, i. e., a favourable balance of trade that would lead to an increase in exports of bullion or goods and commodities". They also held the view that "the impact of the growing import of manufactured goods on the Indian economy as a whole and on the welfare of the people was deleterious" and that the effect of the export of food grains was harmful. It has been pointed out that "even in the realm of trade Indian national leaders were, for all intents and purposes, devoted to the cause of industry whose interests were always kept uppermost in their thoughts—to the almost complete exclusion of interests purely commercial".

In the fifth chapter the growth of railways and its economic effects have been exhaustively discussed with reference to the views of the Indian nationalist leaders, who felt that "the railways, which were potentially a benefactor but an evil at the moment, were not worth the financial burden that was being thrown upon the Indian exchequer, and that these financial resources could be better utilised in other fields if the aim was to give a fillip to the economy". The attitude of the Indian leaders towards Irrigation versus Railways has been commented upon. The role of railways was evaluated by the Indian leaders, "not in abstract terms, but entirely in the wider context of economic development". In the sixth chapter we get

an elaborate discussion of the views of Indian national leaders on the question of Tariffs, which was an important economic issue in the years from 1880 to 1905. After having examined the Indian national leadership's attitude towards the various tariff measures adopted by the Government of India, the candidate brings out four salient aspects of its tariff policy. "Firstly, it was clearly a policy of granting protection to Indian industries, though not in an indiscriminate manner. Secondly, it furnishes another illustration of the Indian national leadership's intense and undivided devotion to the cause of modern industry.** Thirdly, the Indian national leaders came to believe fully in the notions, which they then vigorously propounded and propagated, that the tariff policy of the Government of India was hampering the growth of Indian industries. **Fourthly, not only did the tariff policy of the Government of India awaken the nationalism of Indian leadership and make them see more clearly the political realities, but it was, in turn, utilised by the Indian nationalists to arouse and educate the people of India politically, consolidate the growing nationalist feelings among them, bring the people all over India closer together, and even train them in the arts of political agitation and struggle".

Chapters VII to XII contain detailed discussions on important topics like Currency and Exchange, Labour, Agriculture and Public Finance. The candidate rightly points out that "the nationalist leaders found the Indian public expenditure to be extravagant and its nature and distribution unsuited to and unconnected with the true needs and conditions of the people and the country's economy". Indian leadership "declared the heavy and ever-growing military expenditure to be the chief cause of India's financial disequilibrium and the *raison de'tre* of high taxation**". Remedies suggested by the national leaders as a cure for the financial ills have been carefully analysed by the candidate.

Chapter XIII presents an interesting account of Economic Drain with a critical examination of its various causes and of the measures suggested by the Indian leaders for reducing it.

These measures were Indianisation of civil and military services and a reduction of the European element in them to reasonable proportions, and curtailment of the Home Charges. Political implications of the Economic Drain have been clearly indicated by the writer (pp. 508-516), who significantly observes that "the drain theory was revolutionary in its political implications". Doctrinal outlook of the Indian nationalist economists and the concept of "Indian Political Economy" have been elucidated in chapter fourteen. "It might almost be said", observes the writer, "that the Indian Political Economy was more an attitude of mind, and approach towards the economic problems of India, and a method of economic reasoning than a system of economic thought."

On the merit of his thesis, entitled 'Revolt of 1857 in Panjab', Shri Kripal Chandra Yadav obtained the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Rajasthan in 1966. This thesis contains twelve chapters besides some appendices, maps and a bibliography. In Chapter I the candidate has reviewed British policy towards Panjab from 1849 to 1857 and in Chapter II he has traced the growth of popular discontent in this area during decade of British rule by pointing out the reaction of the different communities against it. Outbreak of the Mutiny at Ambala and steps taken by the British Government to prevent its extension have been narrated in Chapters III & IV. Outbreak and progress of this movement in Cis-Sutlej and Trans-Sutlej regions have been studied in the next two Chapters. In Chapter VII the candidate has tried to show that mutiny turned into a 'revolt of the people' in the different districts of this area, and that the theory about the Sikh masses being loyal to the British is a myth. The efforts of John Lawrence and his Government to save the British Empire during these critical days have been described in Chapter VIII. In Chapter IX we get an account of the dual role of the Princes of the Haryana region and of the loyal services rendered to the British Government by the chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej States. Revolt of Tularam, Istamarardar of Rewari, his defeat at the battle of Narnaul

and his subsequent career in and outside India till his death in 1863 have been described in Chapter X. In Chapter VI the candidate has discussed communal relations in those days among the people of this area and has expressed the view that these were on the whole cordial though the British Government tried to fan communal bitterness. But his claim that no "British or Indian writer has dealt with this aspect" is not justifiable. There are some other writers, including late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who also have studied it. Chapter XII presents an analysis of the various effects of the movement, which could be elaborated with more details.

Shri Jagadish Chandra obtained Ph.D. Degree of Rajasthan University for his thesis on "Freedom Movement in Rajasthan (1857-1919)."

On the basis of the thesis, entitled "The Political Movements and Awakening in Rajasthan (1857 to 1947)", Shri Krishan Swarup Saxena got the Ph.D. Degree of the University of Rajasthan in 1969. In this thesis the candidate has presented a connected narrative of the political movements and awakening in Rajasthan for a century preceding the momentous year 1947. It contains eight chapters. In chapter I the candidate has traced the history of Rajasthan in broad outlines from the medieval period till the middle of the nineteenth century on the basis of facts already known to us. In Chapter II he has shown how the Revolt of 1857 had its echo at certain places in Rajasthan and has discussed the policy followed by the Princes to suppress the outbreaks. As regards the nature of this movement in Rajasthan he observes that it was not 'a national revolt' and was 'never pre-planned'. But he rightly points out that it served as a source of inspiration to future generations in their fight for freedom as was the case in other parts of India. In Chapter III we get a detailed account of the various administrative changes and social reforms introduced in Rajasthan during what he calls the 'Age of Reforms' from 1858 to 1884. The effects of the tours of Dayanand in Rajasthan and the influence of the Arya Samaj on the people

of this area have been also elucidated by him. In Chapter IV he has described the growth of political consciousness in Rajasthan from the year of the establishment of the Indian National Congress till the suspension of the Non-Co-operation Movement. The impact of the Swadeshi movement and the partition of Bengal on Rajasthan and the activities of the Revolutionaries in this region have been also reviewed by him. He has further written about the peasants' movements in Rajasthan and the students' agitation in Bharatpur.

In Chapter V the candidate has dealt with the movements of different years among the Bhils (1881, 1882, 1921-22), which, in his opinion, aroused 'national consciousness' in south-west Rajasthan. This view may not, however, be shared by others and deserves a more critical examination. In Chapter VI the candidate has described the political movements and establishment of political institutions in Rajasthan in the period from 1924-1939. He has also mentioned the recrudescence of 'terrorist' activities in Rajasthan during these years. In Chapter VII he has traced the development of political consciousness among the people of Rajasthan in the period following the outbreak of World War II in the face of severe repression on the part of the Rulers of the different States and has reviewed the circumstances leading to the merger of the Rajputana States to the Union of India.

On the merit of the thesis, entitled 'The Role of Uttar Pradesh in India's Freedom Struggle (1920-1947)', Shri Kedarnath Singh got the Ph.D. Degree of the Banaras Hindu University in 1969. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of the Freedom Movement in the Uttar Pradesh from 1920 to 1947, that is, from the year when the Non-Co-operation Movement was started under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi till the attainment of independence by India. In Chapter I he has traced the background of Freedom Movement in the Uttar Pradesh from the time of the Indian Revolt of 1857 till the year 1920. In Chapter II

he has discussed the role of this region in the Non-Co-operation Movement till its suspension after the Chauri Chaura affair, the birth of the Swaraj Party and its programme or activities and the rise of communal separatism till 1927. In Chapter III he has examined the reaction in the Uttar Pradesh of the appointment of the Simon Commission and has reviewed the part played by it in the Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930-1934. He has also thrown some light on the policy and activities of the revolutionaries. In Chapter IV he has studied the nature of Provincial politics, and the circumstances leading to the formation of the Pant Ministry, and has given an estimate of the work of this Ministry. In Chapter V we get accounts of the individual Civil Disobedience Movements and of the Quit India Movement, and the Revolution of 1942 with an analysis of the effects of the latter. This is followed in the next Chapter by a discussion of communal politics in the Uttar Pradesh. In the Seventh Chapter the candidate has described the role of the Communists and the Congress Socialists in provincial politics. In the Eighth Chapter he has reviewed the course of politics and national movement in the Uttar Pradesh from 1944 to 1947.

In 1972 Shri Arun Chandra Bhuyan got the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, School of International Studies, on the merit of his thesis, entitled "The Second World War and Indian Nationalism—A Study of the Quit India Movement." In this thesis the candidate has discussed the effects of World War II on Indian Nationalism and has presented a detailed account of the Quit India Movement of 1942 by indicating its nature and ultimate significance. It contains seven chapters. In Chapter I the candidate has reviewed the international situation from the formation of the Rome-Berlin Axis in 1936 and the Munich Pact of 1938 and has traced the genesis of the Quit India Movement from the outbreak of World War II in September 1939 upto the failure of the Cripps Mission in April, 1942. In trying to explain the cause of the failure of the Cripps Mission

the candidate writes that while "Cripps had been making promises of all kinds and carrying on serious negotiations with the leaders of the Congress, the Viceroy, the Secretary of State for India, and the Prime Minister joined hands to prevent him from going further in this direction and to bring him back to the text of the Declaration he had brought with him. He was told in clear terms that he had no authority to go beyond it in any respect". Referring to its effects he observes that the "most significant impact of Cripps fiasco was on the mind of Gandhi. A firm believer in the doctrine of non-embarrassment *vis-a-vis* the British during the period of the war, he now began to feel his way towards the Quit India demand, in utter disregard of British susceptibilities". The factors and the circumstances leading to the emergence of the Quit India demand have been analysed in Chapter II. He has shown how the Quit India resolution was prepared and inspite of the differences of opinions about it among the Indian leaders, including Nehru, Azad, Asaf Ali, Bhulabhai Desai and Rajagopalachari, it was unanimously passed. But the Congress leaders "had failed to draw up a detailed programme of action till the All India Congress Committee meeting which adopted the Quit India resolution. After that it did not get the opportunity." The candidate has examined the plan of the Government to deal with the movement into three stages—(i) to avert, (ii) to abort and (iii) to suppress. In Chapter III, we get a detailed account of the mass upsurge after the arrest of the Congress leaders in all parts of the country and the nature of the Government's response towards it. The candidate has tried to examine to what extent the Congress was responsible for this and how far it was a spontaneous mass movement with the motto of "Do or Die". He describes the important role of the youths, particularly the students, in this movement. "In fact", he observes, "the 1942 Movement was a movement of the youths". The highly repressive measures of the Government for suppressing the movement have been described by him. In Chapter IV, he has given a detailed account of the fairly well-organised underground resistance movement under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan and

some others. In estimating the work of the Socialists, he remarks that "working against heavy odds and with limited resources, the Socialists had not been able to achieve much by way of results".

Gandhiji's fast at an old age and the world-wide reaction to it have been studied in Chapter V. The impact of the Movement in India and abroad, particularly in countries like China and America, have been elucidated in Chapter VI.

In Chapter VII the candidate marks some concluding observations on the basis of what he has narrated in the preceding chapters. He significantly remarks that "although the movement of 1942" had failed to achieve its objective immediately and had in fact been successfully suppressed by the Government, it had shown to the latter the strength of Indian nationalism in a way in which nothing else had been done in the past.

Thus cracks had appeared in the edifice of the empire and even the foundation was shaken. The national awakening and the sense of solidarity and unity shown by the non-Congress political parties (except the Muslim League) in the post-1942 period constituted a warning to the Government, "which it could not ignore for long". He has explained how the "impact abroad was equally significant" and showed that independence of India had now become "a major issue of world politics". In the concluding line the candidate notes : "Above all, in Britain itself, though there was hardly any sympathy for the Quit India Movement, enlightened opinion, even within the Conservative Party, veered more and more to the view that the independence of India could not be long delayed after the war, whatever the justification for denying it so long as the war continued."

On the merit of the thesis, entitled 'Role of the Middle Class Intelligentsia in the Growth of Nationalism in Bengal between 1800 and 1885', Shri Asoka Kumar Sen obtained Ph.D. Degree (Arts) of the Patna University in 1972. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account regarding the role of the middle class intelligentsia in the growth of nationalism in Bengal between 1880-1885. This period was

marked not only by a brilliant flowering of Indian genius in manifold petals, but also by new urges and aspirations for emancipation from alien domination and for eradication of various abuses in different spheres of life in India. The middle class intelligentsia in Bengal played a highly significant role in all these years and its contributions to the growth of Indian nationalism even in the pre-Congress days were remarkably fruitful.

Besides Introduction and Bibliography the thesis contains five chapters. In Chapter I the candidate has traced the emergence and composition of the new middle class in Bengal clearly indicating the impact of western education and ideas on it. He significantly points out that the "Young intellectuals of Bengal (particularly those who were products of the Hindu College) were inspired by the philosophical and political writings of the eighteenth and nineteenth century European thinkers" and that the "influence of the French Revolution (of 1789) on the students of the Hindu College was tremendous and far-reaching". He has rightly assessed the contribution of western education towards the growth of political consciousness in Bengal and the influence of Rammohun Roy in this respect, whom he describes as "the harbinger of political movement in Bengal". He critically notes that the relationship of the intelligentsia with the general masses "was marked by a spirit of detachment". Nevertheless the "role of this class assumed importance in the years" which followed. In Chapter 2 the candidate has reviewed the agitation of the middle class against the stringent Press Regulation of 1823. This agitation, he observes, brought "into light certain significant facts. It showed incipient though growing political consciousness among the educated Indians. Secondly, this pronounced their attachments for liberty of expression. Lastly, it indicated that the educated middle class had just begun to make its presence felt on the national scene". The attitude of the middle class towards the Charter Acts of 1833 and 1853, the Jury Act of 1826, the Black Act of 1849-50 and the Black Act Agitation of 1857 have also been examined in this chapter. In Chapter 3 we get accounts of the attitude

of the middle class in the Movement of 1857-59, the Indigo Disturbances of 1859-60 and Agrarian Discontent in Bengal with special reference to the Pabna Rent Disturbance of 1872-73. The "middle class intellectuals had at their heart of hearts", the candidate remarks, "the desire to be the spokesmen of millions of rural people who they thought needed proper guidance". Valuable contributions of the middle class intelligentsia towards political and national awakening in the pre-Congress days have been exhaustively and critically studied in Chapter 4.

On the basis of thesis, entitled 'Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadeo Govind Ranade and Pherozeshah Mehta in Indian Political Scene', submitted by Shri Tula Krishna Jha got the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Bhagalpur University in 1972. In this thesis the candidate has reviewed the role of three of our prominent leaders, Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadeo Govind Ranade and Pherozeshah Mehta, in the history of Indian Nationalism in its various aspects. In chapter one he has traced the historical background from the early years of the nineteenth century. In chapter two he has elucidated the liberal political ideas of the three with reference to the Indian National Movement and various branches of the administration. In chapter three he has surveyed in the background of the economic condition of the country the economic concept and activities of the three leaders. Their contributions in the social reform movement of their time have been discussed in chapter four. "As such", the candidate remarks, "these social reformers prescribed widow marriage, girls' re-marriage, monogamous marriage, intercaste marriage, extension of the age of marriage and girls' equal rights on the line of the tradition, as was supported by Hindu texts". Religious ideas and activities of these three eminent personalities have been studied in chapter five. In chapter six we get an interesting account of their educational ideas and activities, which considerably influenced cultural renaissance in western India. They rightly pleaded that a University should not be 'a government department' and that academic institutions should be free from politics. Their ideas about the

nature and functions of the State have been explained in chapter seven. Form and functions of the Government have been discussed in chapter eight. Chapters nine and ten present the views of the three leaders about rights and liberties and Local Self Government respectively. Their ideas about the significance of ethics in politics have been indicated in chapter eleven. Chapter twelve is a resume of what has been written in the preceding chapters.

On the basis of the thesis, entitled 'Growth and Development of Liberal Political Ideas in Bengal (1800-1857)', submitted for D. Phil. Degree (Arts) of the University of Calcutta, Shri Dilip Kumar Chattopadhyay obtained this Degree in 1972. This thesis contains nine chapters including the Introduction. The Introduction is a sort of background for the portions which follow. In chapter one the candidate has traced the economic background of the nineteenth century and has observed in its concluding lines that the economic changes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries influenced the growth of liberal ideas in different spheres. In the second chapter he has studied the penetration of Western thought into India and its influence on various aspects of life in several sections by analysing the forces which helped it. He has also described the activities of the Christian missionaries to indicate their influence on Indian life in different spheres. Development of new political ideas and economic thinking under the impact of western influences, Indian journalism and the role of the Young Bengal group have been traced in the third chapter. In the fourth chapter we get an interesting account about social reform and regeneration and its impact on political thinking. The candidate observes that a "review of the social reforms, such as sati, polygamy, widow-marriage, female education, casteism etc. during the period under study shows that Bengal in particular had been surcharged with a spirit of liberalism not quite known before". The fifth chapter presents accounts of the educational institutions of the period, meant both for oriental studies and English education. The sixth chapter gives a description of contemporary Bengali prose and Bengali stage and drama. "Thus, the progress of the Bengali

language was", he notes, "steadily assured, and liberal ideas came to be promoted". The role of the various Associations and Societies in promoting liberal and progressive ideas has been reviewed in the seventh chapter. The impact of British administration on liberal thought in Bengal has been examined in the eighth chapter.

In 1973 the Meenakshi Prakasan of Meerat published a book on '*Growth of Nationalism in India*' by N. M. P. Srivastava.

For the thesis, entitled 'Role of the District of Saran in the Indian National Movement upto 1947 A.D.' Shri Nagendra Kumar got the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Bihar University, Muzaffarpur, in 1974. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of the Indian National Movement, in its successive stages, in the district of Saran upto 1947 A.D., Bihar had a chivalrous and glorious role in the different phases of the Indian National Movement, and Saran had a special importance in this respect for various reasons, particularly as the place where Dr. Rajendra Prasad, one of the noblest patriots of our country, was born and made potential contributions for the onward march o' the freedom movement, and also as the main field of activities of another great national leader, Mazai-ul-Haque.

The thesis contains eight chapters. In Chapter I the candidate has described the role of Saran in the Movement of 1857-59 and has shown how this area was an "important stronghold of the insurgents of 1857". In Chapter II, he has reviewed in detail the part played by Saran in Indian National Movement from 1885 to 1920, both of which are highly significant dates in the history of modern India. The next period from 1921 to 1929 has been studied in Chapter III. Mahatma Gandhi's visit to this area both in the preceding period and in this period served as a unique source of inspiration to the people of this area in their undaunted fight for freedom in the face of severe repression on the part of the Government. The candidate has rightly observed that "the period between 1921 and 1929 proved to be highly momentous in the history of the Indian National Movement". Role of Saran in the Civil Disobedience Move-

ment (1930-34) and in the National Movement from 1935-41 have been described in Chapters IV and V respectively, with ample references to the Kisan Movement. The enthusiastic, courageous and selfless activities of the patriots of Saran and its people in general during the Quit India Movement of 1942 form the subject-matter of Chapter VI. We get a discussion of Saran's role in the final phase of the National Movement from 1943-1947 in Chapter VII. Chapter VIII is a resume of what has been narrated in the preceding chapters. Some interesting documents have been included in the Appendices.

In 1976 Dr. P. Singh of the Department of Political Science, B. N. College, Patna, got the Ph. D. Degree of the Patna University for his thesis on 'Role of the Bihar Muslims in the Indian National Movement, 1905-1922'. Dr. Jata Shankar Jha published in 1978 a book on *Early Revolutionary Movement in Bihar*.

For the thesis entitled Indian Nationalism and Asia (1900-1947) Shri Birendra Prasad got the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts, Magadh University, in 1976. In this thesis the candidate has presented period-wise an account of Indian nationalism and its influence on the different countries in Asia from 1900 to 1947, explaining the attitude of the Indian national leaders on the people in different areas of Asia. It contains a preface, seven chapters and bibliography. In Chapter I he has traced the history of nationalism in all its aspects from the nineteenth century till 1947. In Chapter II he has shown how there was emergence of Asian consciousness with Indian Nationalism from the seventies of the 19th century emphasizing the need of closer collaboration among the national movements of Asia for eliminating Western imperialism. "It was in the 20th century", he remarks, "that Asianism became a marked feature of the out-look of Indian National Movement". He has indicated the influence of the Indian religious movement in the evolution of Asian oneness. Rabindranath's role in this respect was highly creative.

In Chapter III the candidate has discussed Indian Nationalism and Asia between 1900 and 1918 indicating the growth of mutual reaction between the two and considerable

interest of India in Asian countries. He has justly pointed out the effects and significance of Japan's victory over Russia in the year 1905. "It was", he writes, "the Japanese victory over Russia which heralded a new spirit in India and in Indian politics". The growth of Pan-Islamism and its connection with Indian nationalism in this period has been pointed out. "Asianism, as a marked feature of Indian nationalist thinking had emerged during the years 1900-1918".

Chapter IV covers the period from 1919 to 1929 marked by highly significant events not only in India but throughout Asia, in Turkey and Middle East. India showed keen interest in what was happening in other parts of Asia and expressed great sympathy for Turkey. Sense of fellowship between India and the other Asian countries developed very much during these years. Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore "cemented Indian friendly bonds with China, Japan and South East Asian countries through his visits to these regions in 1924 1927, and 1929". India's bonds of fellowship were strengthened also with Nepal, Burma and Ceylon. India became very much conscious and expressed profound sympathy about China "struggling hard to maintain her political entity and territorial integrity against the heavy onslaughts of the Western imperialists". An idea of Asian Federation also developed among the Indian National leaders.

In Chapter V the candidate has traced the consolidation of the Indian National Movement and growth of attempts for Asian solidarity during the years 1930 to 1945. Sympathy for South-East Asian countries was expressed by Indian nationalists in international conferences. Even the fate of Palestine aroused India's interest, and the Indian National Congress observed September 26, 1936, as Palestine Day on which meetings and demonstrations in favour of the Arabs were held all over the country. The Indian National Congress also showed intense interest in the affairs of the Middle Eastern countries. There was a wave of sympathy for China among the Indians, who observed 12th June, 1938, as China Day to "mark India's solidarity with China in her hour of trial and distress". Seventh July, 1938, was also observed as China

Day at Calcutta in response to the Congress President's appeal. Nehru visited China and some Chinese leaders, like Chiang Kai Shek and Madame Chiang Kai Shek also came to India to exchange feelings of cordiality. Thus as the candidate notes, "during 1930 and 1945 Indian National Movement was drawn very close to China and a new kind of relationship developed between the two neighbours of Asia". He has also carefully discussed the role of Subhas Bose and the I. N. A. in the Far East for liberation of India. Works of the various Asiatic Conferences have been discussed by the candidate and their significance explained. The candidate rightly holds that "the period from 1930 to 1945 marked the consolidation of the movement for Asian solidarity in India. During this period, all shades of opinions in India were deeply moved by an urge to develop friendly relations and close collaboration with the nations of Asia most of which were comrades-in-bondage fighting for independence from white supremacy."

In Chapter VI dealing with the period from 1945 to 1947 we get an account of the last phase of India's freedom struggle and the zenith of Indian attempts for Asian solidarity. Indo-China and Indonesia attracted Indian public opinion on a wide scale, and Quit Asia Day and Southeast Asia Day were observed at different places in India. India also expressed joys when the Philippines emerged as an independent nation in July, 1946. Further, the idea of Asian Federation remained a passion with the Indian leaders. In spite of her subjection to British rule India summoned at Delhi in March-April, 1947 the Asian Relations Conference, which was "a landmark not only in the history of India but of whole Asian Continent." But for various reasons the Conference could not create an all-Asian Organization.

In an issue of *Bengal : Past and Present*, July-December 1976, Shri Prem Narain of Jawaharlal Nehru University Centre of Postgraduate Studies, Imphal (Manipur), has written an article on '*Political Views of Sayyid Ahmad Khan : Evolution and Impact*'. He notes that "Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan presents an interesting mixture of diverse traits : nationalism and separatism, liberalism and reaction". The writer of the article

has tried to analyse his political ideas in a situational context and trace their evolution in relation to the various pulls that were working on him. "His activities were multifarious—he was a religious thinker, writer, a social reformer, journalist, political leader and above all an educationist. In common with all public men he was responsible to the calls of his time. He lived in an age when modern ideas like nationality were in a flux ; and people's thoughts were tuning for the first time to the new political relationships e.g., between Hindus and Muslims living under an alien rule, and, between England and India".

The writer has discussed the earlier liberal political and cultural ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. But from 1887 "a profound change came over Sir Sayyid. From his Lucknow speech of December 28, 1887, in which he denounced the Indian National Congress, his earlier diagnosis of Hindu-Muslim relationship underwent a complete transformation". The article contains the immensely interesting correspondence between Badruddin Tayabji and Sir Sayyid about Muslim participation in the Indian National Congress. Pernicious influence of Theodore Beck as Principal of the Aligarh college has also been noted.

For the thesis, entitled, 'Resistance to British Rule in Ganjam, 1766-1858' Shri T. E. Ramaswamy Iyengar got the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Berhampur University in 1977. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of resistance to British Rule from various quarters in Ganjam in the period when the East India Company established its rule in the area from 1766 to the end of the Company's Rule in 1858. The various forces which reinforced this resistance have been analysed.

The thesis contains five Chapters. In Chapter one the candidate has described the state of Ganjam in the eighteenth century, which was then, as he notes, in "utter confusion, there being no law and order for want of a strong paramount authority". The feudal aristocracy of this area consisting of more than twenty powerful Zamindars opposed both the French and the English. "In fact, it was almost seventy years

before the British rule could be consolidated in the region and law and order established". The story of Anglo-French conflicts in this area has been narrated and causes of defeat of the French have been examined. The candidate observes that "the British, by their policy of conciliation of some Zamindars and repression of some others, destroyed any prospect of the united action of local landed aristocracy against the new powers".

Rebellion in Parlakhemundi has been narrated in Chapter two with ample details. "As a result of the permanent settlement", the candidate writes, "the Ganjam Zamindars lost much of their traditional powers and privileges, while the Government assumed more authority over the Zamindars of the district". The Zamindars "were debarred from retaining a large military establishment". Some defects in the policy of the Company have been examined by the candidate. "The intermittent disturbances in Parlakhemundi for almost seventy years were caused by the challenge of the local aristocracy to the British rule. Absence of well-defined principles in the administration accounted for the long duration of the local revolt and its spread far and wide."

Unrest in Ghumsur, which came under the British rule in 1766-67 as a part of the Ganjam district, has been described in Chapter three. The candidate rightly holds that in "the series of anti-British uprisings in Ganjam in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Bhanja Rajas of Ghumsur took an active part". After some years the estate of Ghumsur was placed under the Collector's direct control. Act 23 of 1836 was passed for the better administration of the estate. British Government's conciliatory policies in relation to the principal inhabitants and the Khonds have also been noted.

It has been described in Chapter four how "Mohuri, a Zamindary in the Ganjam district, was in a state of intermittent disturbance for almost half a century after the British had established their political sway over the region", and "it was not until 1850, when the Zamindary was finally confiscated by the Government, that law and order, could be securely established in the estate". The candidate thus accounts for

resistance and troubles in Mohuri. "In fact, it was the bad local administration that was responsible for the prolonged unrest in the Zamindary ; the policy of the British Government was inconsistent ; their frequent interference in the management of the estate and frequent attachment or sale of the estate on the pretext of non-payment of dues or failure of legal heirs caused great resentment in the Mohuri family. The permanent settlement affected its traditional political and judicial powers".

The uprisings in tribal tracts of the Ganjam district among the hill tribes, which prevented for years the establishment of effective British authority in those tracts, have been studied in Chapter five. The candidate has expressed the view that "the tribal unrest was caused by the local peoples' fear that the British rule would affect their political, social and religious life". He has given a brief description of the tribal society to analyse the impact of the Government measures in the tribal areas and has also shown how some revolting practices like the Meriah sacrifice and female infanticide were completely suppressed by 1858. The capture of 164 insurgents brought to an end the campaign of the British Government against the Khonds in December 1836. The candidate points out that the "Acts of 1836, 1839 and 1845 sought not only to bring the tribe within British administrative jurisdiction, but by so doing to spread the civilizing influence of the British rule in the tribal territory".

A thesis, entitled 'The Bardoli Satyagraha—1928 : A Case Study of a Peasant Movement and Its Interrelationship with the Freedom Struggle', was prepared in 1977 by Smt. Shirin M. Mehta for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Jawaharlal Nehru University School of International Studies. This thesis contains seven Chapters, besides Preface and Bibliography. In Chapter one, the candidate has traced the evolution of the Land Revenue system in the Bardoli Taluka referring to the measures adopted by the Company's Government in this respect. The "Principles", recommended by what came to be known as The Joint Report in 1847" guided the so-called Original Settlement's in Gujarat which were made during

the period from 1851 to 1884". The candidate has illustrated by figures in some Tables that revised settlements about Land Revenue in 1910 did not bring any improvement in the lot of the peasants.

In Chapter two the candidate has reviewed the condition of the Bardoli peasants on the eve of the Satyagraha there. She observes that "the people's resentment against the British land revenue system arose from the fact that the land revenue system conferred almost arbitrary powers to the settlement officers". One of the most notable pre-Bardoli peasant agitation in Gujarat was the Kheda Satyagraha of 1918. This was probably the first time when the peasants of Gujarat had raised their voice against the British land revenue system and challenged the authority of the land revenue officials".

On 22 March, 1918, Gandhiji inaugurated the Satyagraha. It at first resulted in a failure. But, as the candidate writes, "If the Kheda Satyagraha failed in its objective it provided an experience of non-violent Satyagraha movement to the people of Gujarat. For the first time Gujarat saw Satyagraha in action as a key to the redressals of the people's grievances". Gradually within a few years gulf was widened between the peasants of Gujarat and the Bombay Government.

The candidate has given a detailed description of the various types of land tenure in the Bardoli Taluka and the heterogeneous classes and groups of the people of this area. "The Bardoli situation in the 1920s", the candidate points out, "presented a kind of social pyramid in which social standing, economic strength and cultural and educational advancement went hand in hand". "In the socio-economic structure of Bardoli, thus, the higher castes and groups constituted the bulk of landlords, peasant proprietors and tenants".

In Chapter three we get an interesting description of the local leaders and political mobilisation. The candidate has noted that for certain reasons "the political awareness among the members of the Patidar and Anavil castes came earlier than the rest of the people" and has mentioned the names of the leaders. Several organisations were started as a result of growing political consciousness. Contributions of Gandhiji for

growth of nationalism by occasional visits to Gujarat, particularly to Bardoli, have been duly mentioned by the candidate. The candidate writes, significantly, "Imperceptibly but gradually the Bardoli situation was moving towards a broadbased movement, and by the time M. S. Jayakar proposed his ill-conceived measures the Taluka had gained a measure of political awareness which could not but have profound impact on the subsequent development".

In Chapter four the failure of Moderate Leadership including the Ashram group and the emergence of Vallabhbhai Patel as the "undisputed leader" of the Bardoli movement have been traced. How Vallabhbhai Patel contributed to the progress of the Satyagraha in the face of stiff attitude of the Government and their repression, has been described with ample details.

In Chapter five the candidate has shown how Bardoli Satyagraha became an All India issue. Vallabhbhai Patel got an opportunity for this when the Congress Working Committee met at Bombay on 18 May, 1928. Very soon meetings of various other organisations were held to express support and sympathy for the Bardoli struggle. A series of articles were contributed by several MLCs and leading citizens of Bombay in the Bombay Chronicle "to draw the attention of the reading public towards the plight of the Bardoli peasantry and deprecate the Government action" "The women also did not lag behind." Vallabhbhai Patel further managed to secure the sympathy of the Servants of Indian Society for Bardoli agitation and the "publication of the Kunzru Committee report brought more public figures on the side of the peasants" demand for an impartial enquiry.

The ultimate settlement of the Bardoli Satyagraha issue has been reviewed by the candidate in Chapter six. It has been noted that the peasants of Bardoli "got the type of enquiry they were fighting for during the last six months" and Vallabhbhai conveyed this in a message to the Bardoli peasants.

Chapter seven is a resume of what has been narrated in the preceding chapters. The concluding paragraph in this chapter is highly suggestive : The significance of the Bardoli

movement, thus, went far beyond its immediate objective and its impact was felt at all India level. It helped the Congress to broaden its popular support because the success of the Bardoli struggle was largely due to its linkage with the freedom movement. The success of the Bardoli peasants put the Government on the defensive because the Government had no illusions about its wider significance. It is due to these factors that the Bardoli Satyagraha became a landmark not only in the history of the peasant movements in India but also in that of the freedom struggle".

Thesis entitled, "The History of Freedom Movement in the Gonda District (1857-1947)" has been prepared by Mira Chopra for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Gorakhpur University. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of different periods of the Freedom Movement in the Gonda District. It contains ten Chapters besides some Appendices and Bibliography. In Chapter one the candidate has given a description of the geographical position and historical background of the Gonda District. In Chapter two she has written about the principal zamindars of the Gonda District on the eve of the Revolt of 1857. Chapter three is a comprehensive account of the outbreak and influence of Revolt of 1857-58. Throughout this era in Chapter four the candidate has described the story of the freedom movement in this district from after the suppression of the Revolt of 1857-58 till before the establishment of the Indian National Congress (1860-1884). In Chapter five she deals with the period from the establishment of the Indian National Congress till 1919 including in it the Swadeshi Movement. Chapter six is a full description of the progress and influence of the Non-Co-operation Movement in this region. In Chapter seven the candidate has traced the progress of the National Movement in the period from 1929 to 1938. In Chapter eight she has described the National Movement in Gonda between 1939, that is outbreak of World War II, and the Quit India Movement of 1942. Chapter nine is a description of the last phase of the National Movement in Gonda from 1943 to 1947. Chapter ten, that is, in the conclusion, is a resume of what has

been narrated in the preceding chapters. This is followed by five Appendices on pages 462-524. At the end of chapters 6 to 9 the candidate has given lists of martyrs and of those who were punished for taking part in the National Movement and many who took prominent parts in it.

A book on the "American Attitude towards the Indian National Movement" came out in Delhi in 1970. Author, Dr. D. P. Singh was the Reader in History, Bhagalpur University in Bihar. Awareness of the big powers to Indian aspirations is an important aspect of study.

Section V

ADMINISTRATION AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

The history of the Indian National Movement is very much linked up with the administrative and constitutional changes in this country. For exhaustive studies on the successive stages in the development of the British Indian administrative system prior to 1858, which is a significant landmark in this respect, the testimony of the famous British contemporaries like Shore, Munro, Malcolm, Metcalfe, Elphinstone, Richards, Sleeman, Colebrooke, Grant, Russell, Scott-Waring, Tucker, Gleig and Kaye, has to be utilised with due care and scrutiny along with the evidence supplied by various other published and unpublished documents of the period. Some such works as Henry Cotton's *Memorandum on the Revenue Administration of Chittagong* (1880), Rev. W. K. Firminger's edition (1917) of the *Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, Mr. F. D. Ascoli's *Early Revenue History of Bengal and the Fifth Report* (1917), Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham's *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal, 1769-1787* (1926), M.E. Monckton Jones' *Warren Hastings in Bengal* (1918), and Dr. A. Aspinall's *Cornwallis in Bengal*, contain useful information regarding the various branches of the administrative system that was built up as a concomitant of the rising British political authority in India. Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell's three volumes on *The Land Systems of British India* (1892) is full of information relating to this aspect of administration, and his another valuable work on *The Indian Village Community* came out in 1896.

Among the Indian scholars, Shri D. N. Banerjee, ex-Professor of Political Science, University of Calcutta, has made notable contributions during several years in this branch of study. His two companion volumes, entitled *Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar, Volume I. 1765-1772* (published in 1936) and *Early Administrative System of the East India Company in Bengal, Volume I, 1765-1772* (published

in 1943), are valuable works containing plenty of illustrative original documents with critical comments on them. Some years back Shri S. C. Ray wrote a book on land revenue administration in India. In his monograph on *The Supreme Court in Conflict*, Dr. I. Banerjee (Professor of History, University of Calcutta, many years back) ably discussed certain aspects of the relation between the Supreme Council and the Supreme Court. A few years back Dr. B. B. Mishra (then Principal, Siwan College, Bihar) and subsequently Head of the History Department, Delhi University wrote a comprehensive and critical account of the judicial administration of the East India Company on the basis of original documents. It was published in several instalments in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* and has been reprinted in the form of a book. In 1954 the Government of Bihar published a volume on *Selections from Unpublished Correspondence of the Judge-Magistrate and the Judge of Patna, 1790-1857*, compiled and edited by me with a critical introduction.

For the study of the administrative system after 1858, in continuation of the preceding period we have the old works like George Chesney's *Indian Policy* (1870), J. Chailley's *Administrative Problems of British India* (1910), Sir John Strachey's *India . Its Administration and Progress* (1911), the volumes of Sir W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*, two volumes of Buckland's *Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors* (1902), Lady Betty Balfour's *The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration, 1876-1884* (1899), H. Kawcett's *Indian Finance* (1880), John Strachey and Richard's *The Finance and Public Works of India from 1869 to 1881* (1882), Sir Richard Temple's *India in 1880* (1880), two volumes on *the Speeches of the Marquis of Ripon in India* (1883), W. S. Blunt's *India Under Ripon* (1909), two volumes of L. Wolf's *Life of the First Marquess of Ripon* (1921), T. Raleigh's *Lord Curzon in India*, (1906), Lovat Fraser's *India under Curzon and After* (1911), Lord Curzon's *A Selection from his speeches as Viceroy* (1906), Lord Ronaldshay's *Life of Lord Curzon*, Vol. II (1928), O'Malley's *The Indian Civil Service, 1901-1930* (1931), McNeil's *Report on the Village Watch on the Lower Provinces*

of Bengal, and the Moral and Material Progress Reports Brought out year to year from 1881-82 to 1915-16.

Of the Indian writers, Dr. J. Mathai has contributed a learned work on *Village Government in British India* (first published in 1915). Prof. Kale's book on Indian Administration is also a useful publication. Dr. Dharmapal wrote some years back a book on the Administration of Lord Lawrence. Recently the Oxford University Press has brought out a book by Dr. Gopal on the *Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon 1880-1884*, which was a very important period in the history of modern India for its liberal outlook and varied reforms. It is based on various printed books, Parliamentary papers and reports and specially on some valuable manuscript sources found in England viz, the *Ripon Papers*, the *Ilbert Papers*, and *Commonwealth Relations Office Papers*. Besides dealing with the problem of Indian defence in relation to Russia, Central Asia and Afghanistan, and the relations with Burma, the author has discussed critically some significant administrative matters, such as the *Factory Act*, *Repeal of the Vernacular Press Act*, the *Problem of the Arms Act*, *Local Self-Government*, the *Ilbert Bill*, *Civil Service*, *Education*, *Famine and Public Works*, *Agriculture and Land Revenue* and *Finance*. In conclusion the author has given a critical estimate of what he calls a "momentous viceroyalty".

In his book on *Central Administration of the East India Company* Dr. B. B. Mishra has presented a critical study of this subject. An important original work on *Justice and Police in Bengal 1765-1793*, written by Dr. N. Majumdar of Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta, was published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay in 1960. Dr. N. K. Sinha justly observes in his Foreword to this work that it "fills an important gap in our knowledge of the history of Bengal. It helps us to understand how the system of Mughal justice and police broke down. The history of some aspects of administration during the period from 1765 to 1793 is based on a thorough study of available records. It also throws new light on the evolution of British sovereignty in Bengal. Dr. Majumder emphasises the slow operation of "British imperium". A

Research Assistant of mine, late Dr. Aditya Prasad Jha of Bihar State Central Archives, obtained the Ph.D. Degree of the Patna University on the merit of a thesis on *Police and Criminal Administration of Bengal and Bihar, 1793-1835*. This work forms a laudable supplement to the work of Dr. N. Majumdar for the immediately preceding period.¹ A few years back the Asia Publishing House published a learned work of Dr. Hira Lal Singh, then professor, Gorakhpur University, on *Problems and Policies of the British in India, 1885-1898*. It is based on a vast body of materials, published as well as unpublished.

In 1937 Shri L. P. Dutt, then Keeper of Records of the Bengal Government, wrote a paper on *Administration of Justice in Bengal in the last decade of the 18th century* by studying some relevant records under his custody.² In 1939 we had a paper on the *Naib Nazims of Dacca during the Company's administration* by Shri S. C. Banerjee, Keeper of Records of the Government of Bengal, and another paper on the *Committee of Circuit at Krishnanagar* by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta of Calcutta University.³ Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad reviewed in a paper some *Early post-Mutiny schemes of Decentralization*. Shri Nirmal Chandra Sinha wrote on *First Public Service Examination, 1845-52*,⁴ and Shri Ramesh Chandra Banerjee contributed a paper on the *Sepoy Army of the East India Company in the 18th Century*.⁵ Next year⁶ Dr. B. S. Baliga, then Keeper of Records of the Madras Government, wrote a paper on the *Amani System of Land Revenue Administration in Madras* and Prof. D. N. Banerjee discussed in another paper the question of the *Location of the Sudder Nizamat Adalat in Bengal*. Then⁶ followed a paper regarding the *Criminal Jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court*

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1937.

2. Ibid., 1939.

3. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.

4. Ibid.

5. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940

6. Ibid., 1942.

(established in India by the Royal Charter of 24th May, 1726) by Prof. D. N. Banerjee and another paper on the *Qanungo in the North Western Provinces* (1801-1833) by Dr. R. N. Nagar of Lucknow University. In 1943¹ Dr. B. S. Baliga wrote on *Prison Administration in Madras* 1802-1840, and Shri M. C. Subramaniam, Special Assistant, Madras Record Office, traced in a paper the *Attempts to introduce Judicial Reforms in Madras*, 1763-1800. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Torick Ameer Ali of Calcutta High Court contributed a paper on *Bolaqui Das' Account with the East India Company and the trial of Nuncumar* (Nanda Kumar) and Prof. D. N. Banerjee discussed (he wrote about it in the preceding year too) for the second time the question of Warren Hastings' *Supposed resignation of the office of the Governor-General of Bengal*. In 1944² came out some interesting papers on certain topics of administration, viz., *Village Settlement of Land Revenue in Madras*, 1807-1822 by Dr. B. S. Baliga, *Warren Hastings and the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal* by Prof. D. N. Banerjee, *The Office of the Qanungo in Bihar* by Shri K. P. Mitra, then Principal, Monghyr College, *Some facts Regarding Customs Administration in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces*, 1810-1825, by Mr. Saiyid Nurul Hasan, then Lecturer, Lucknow University, and subsequently Minister of Education, Government of India, *Some curious cases of the Supreme Court in the quinquennial period of its Existence at Fort William* by Mr. J. S. Rawat of B. R. College, Agra, and *Some Unpublished Documents relating to Gang-Robbery and Thuggee in the Company's Lower Provinces in Bengal during the early nineteenth century* by late Dr. H. R. Ghosal of Muzaffarpur. Our eminent historian, Dr. S. N. Sen, discussed the real cause of Tod's resignation from the East India Company's service on the basis of contemporary evidence. In the next year Professor C. S. Srinivasachari contributed a paper on *The Sovereign Status of the Nawabs of the Carnatic Discussed in the*

1. Ibid., 1943.

2. Ibid., 1944.

Recorder's Court and the Supreme Court at Madras in years 1798-1891. Prof. D. N. Banerjee wrote another note on *Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal by Warren Hastings*, Mr. J. S. Rawat discussed the topic of *The Herrinbarah and the Supreme Court of Fort William, 1777*, Prof. S. N. Banhatti studied *Colebrooke's Observations about the State of Affairs in the Kingdom of the Bhonslas of Nagpur, April, 1799*, and Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao of Mysore contributed a paper on *East India Company and its Public Servant*. In the next year¹ the subject of the *Abolition of the Titular Dignity of the Nawab of the Carnatic* was studied by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, Prof. D. N. Benerjee wrote on the *Early Military Establishment of the East India in Bengal*, Shri Nani Gopal Chaudhury, then at Hugli, reviewed some *Excerpts from unpublished Records relating to the Trial of Reza Khan*, Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee wrote on *A Forgotten Controversy of the Salt Tax* and Shri R. C. Mitra dealt with *Some Aspects of Judicial Administration for Indians in Chander Nagore in 1791-93*.² In 1959 Shri K. Rajayan got M. Litt. Degree of the Madras University on the merit of his thesis, entitled *Edward Lord Clive in Madras (Governor, 1798-1803)*. In 1961 the Madras University awarded M. Litt. Degree to Shri Jayadev Rajkumar for his thesis on *The Governorship of Lord Pigot*. In the volumes prepared in the course of the last few years on the regimes of some of the Governors-General, there are interesting accounts about administrative matters. Such volumes are *India under Lord Amherst* by Dr. Hira Lal Gupta of Saugar University, *Indian Administration under Hardinge* by Mr. Virendra Kumar, *Administration of India under Lord Mayo* by Dr. K. S. Srivastava of B. R. College, Agra, *Paramountcy under Lord Dalhousie* by Dr. Shri Nandan Prasad, Historical Section, Defence Ministry, Government of India, *India Under Lord Elgin I* by Kumari Brij Saigal, M.A., Ph.D. (Lucknow), a thesis on *The Administration of Lord Lansdowne (1884-1894)*,

1. Ibid., 1945.

2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1946.

on the merit of which Smt. Madhvi secured Ph. D. Degree of Lucknow University in 1959, *Administration of Sir Charles Metcalfe* (also a Ph.D. thesis of the Lucknow University) by Dr. Dayal Dass, and *The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon*, by Smt. Aloka Guha (Calcutta University). Several other scholars worked on Lord Curzon, viz., *The Foreign Policy of Lord Curzon in India* by Shri Nirmal Chandra Datta (Calcutta University), *The Internal Administration of Lord Curzon* by H. D. C. D'Souza (Bombay University), *Lord Curzon* by Miss L. R. Rastogi (Bombay University), and *The Administration of Lord Curzon* by Shri V.C. Bhutani (Delhi University).

Studying a file of 1868 among the old district records of Lucknow, Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee brought to light in 1948 some details illustrating a line of policy proposed by the revenue authorities of Oudh regarding the disposal of villages "to which no one could establish an unquestionable proprietary right". That year Shri Dasarath Sharma, a Senior Technical Assistant in the National Archives of India, indicated the general character and importance of the *Proceedings of the Survey Department, 1867-1873.*¹ Next year Shri Tapan Kumar Ray Chaudhury revealed an *Old Custom of Estate Division in Bihar from an interesting record of the Sadar Diwani Adalat*, found in the possession of the Calcutta High Court.² Dr. H.R. Ghosal threw new light on *The famine of 1783-1784 in Bihar* chiefly on the basis of some unpublished English documents discovered by him in the record room of the Muzaffarpur Collectorate.³ Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee discussed the question of *Oudh Loans in the time of Lord Hastings* and Shri Tapan Kumar Ray Chaudhuri wrote on *Rent-Evasion in Bengal in the Seventeen Nineties.*⁴ In 1950 we got some interesting papers⁵ on certain administra-

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1948.

2. Ibid, 1949.

3. Ibid.

4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1949.

5. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1950.

tive matters, such as *Notes on Communication in the Early Nineteenth Century* by Shri Arun Kumar Das Gupta, Lecturer in History in the Central Calcutta College, *Oudh and the Question of Salt Tax in 1897* by Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, *The Recorder's Court at Madras (1789-1801) and Some of its Findings* by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari and *Visual Telegraph, Calcutta to Chunab, 1816-1828*, by Colonel R. H. Phillimore (late Royal Engineers and Survey of India). Dr. H. R. Ghosal wrote a paper tracing in it briefly the history of the *Resumption of Rent-Free tenures in British India by the Company's Government between 1819-1830 with special reference to the province of Bihar*¹ and Dr. K. N. V. Sastri made a critical review of *The Administration of the Mysore State from 1926 to 1941*. Some years back I wrote a paper on the *Genesis of the Diwani grant of 1765* and Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee reviewed the question of *Second Oudh loan in the time of Lord Hastings*.² In 1953 Shri Sushil Chandra De of Orissa State Archives wrote a paper on *Salt Monopoly in Orissa and Its Effects During Early British Rule* on the authority of some old Orissa records. He observed in conclusion that "the introduction of salt monopoly in Orissa was highly detrimental to the interests of the people of Orissa, especially of poorer classes."³ Next year Dr. H. R. Ghosal presented *A Study of the Land Revenue Records of Tirhut (1783-1838)*, discovered by him in the record room of the Muzaffarpur Collectorate. A study of these records "reveals", he rightly observes, "very many important and interesting details in connection with the land revenue history, not only of Tirhut but of Bihar and Bengal as a whole". A few other papers on the administrative aspect written that year were : *The East India Company's Law Courts in the opening years of the 19th Century* by Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, *Some Records on the early British policy towards the Tributary Mahals in Orissa* by

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1950.

2. Ibid., 1952.

3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1953.

Prof. P. Mukherjee and *The Social and Political bearing of Criminal Trials in French India in the 18th Century* by Dr. R. C. Mitra.¹ In 1955 Shri L. P. Mathur, Assistant Archivist, National Archives, wrote a paper on *Land Revenue Settlement in North-West Provinces, 1801-1880*. He discussed in it different aspects of the problem while tracing the history of land revenue settlement policy, and has shown how the Government finally abandoned the idea of introducing permanent settlement in the North-West Provinces.² Dr. Qeyamuddin Ahmad, Research Fellow, K. P. Jayaswal Institute, Patna, discussed in a paper the influence of *Local Public Opinion in the appointment of Qanungoes in paragana Sasaram, Bihar, during the reign of Muhammad Shah*. Shri Sailen Ghose, Assistant Archivist, National Archives of India, prepared *Some Stray Notes of Calcutta Police in 1791*. Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid of Muslim University, Aligarh, brought to light *Contemporary Account of Judicial Administration during the time of Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh (1847-1868)*. Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya of University Grants Commission wrote an article on *Lord Curzon's Impressions of Indian Administration 1898-1901*, entirely on the authority of the private letters written by Lord Curzon to Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India from 1895 to 1903, and Shri Nani Gopal Chaudhuri contributed a paper on *Sir George Barlow's Interference in the Internal Affairs of Hyderabad*.³

Dr. Dharma Bhanu's thesis on *History and Administration of the North-Western Provinces, 1801-1858*, is a valuable original contribution. It describes the administrative organisation of this area at the various stages from 1801. Some theses or dissertations relating to the different aspects of administration have been recently completed and some are under preparation. So far as my information goes these are as follows : *British Administration in Assam (1825-45) with*

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1954.
2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955.
3. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1955-56.

special reference to the Hill Tribes in the Frontier by Dr. H. K. Barpujari (Assam). Some aspects of the Internal Administration of Lord William Bentinck by Prof. O. P. Bhatnagar (Allahabad), Development of Bombay, (1797-1827) by Shrimati P. S. Bhedwar (Bombay), Madras District Administration under the East India Company by Mr. K. J. Jacob (Madras), Early Land Revenue Settlements in the Madras Presidency, 1750-1800 by Shri Narsimha Roo (Madras) Local Administration in Madras (published by Shri V. Venkat Rao ; Madras), Land Revenue Administration in the Madras State, 1765-1878, by Shri S. Krishnamurthy (Madras), A Study in Some Aspects of Administration of the Nagpur State, 1818-1854, by Prof. Rammohan Sinha (approved for Ph. D. Degree of Nagpur University), Indian Railways (1921-1951) by Dr. Amba Prasad (Delhi), Administration of Lord Northbrook by Shri Virendra Pal Singh (Delhi), Military History of the East India Company before the Mutiny of 1857 by Shri Amiya Sen (Calcutta), The Excise Policy of the Government of India, 1858-1900 by Shri S. C. Bhatnagar (Lucknow), Lord Canning's Administration (civil side only) by Shri Bhupen Qanungo (Banaras), Army of the East India Company in the Presidency of Bengal, 1756-1824, by Shri J. P. Gupta (Agra), Land Revenue Administration of the North-Western Province, 1801-1833, by Dr. R. N. Nagar (Lucknow University), Administration of the Punjab, 1849-1947, by Shri Guarcharan Singh (Punjab), Development of Famine Policy, 1858-1918, by Shri Hari Shankar Srivastava (Agra), Legal History of British India by Shri M. P. Jain (Delhi), Civil Services in India, 1853-1934, by Shri B. S. Khanna (Punjab), Public Administration in the Punjab by Shri Krishna Narain Malik (Delhi), Administration of Lord Elgin II by Shri Madan Lal Gupta (Agra), Local Self-Government in India, 1858-1901, by Shri H. N. Mathur (Lucknow), Administration of Lord Hastings by Shri Motilal Jain (Agra), The Administrative System of the East India Company in Bengal, 1774-1797, by Shri Niranjan Dhar (Calcutta), Administration of Sir George Barlow in India, 1805-1807, by Shri Nirode Chandra Dhole (Lucknow), The Internal Administration of Lord Canning by Shri R. C. Pathak (Allahabad), Jonathan*

Duncan, Governor of Bombay, by Shrimati S. N. Pradhan (Bombay), *Military History of India* by Shri Pran Nath Khera (Punjab), *Land System in Madhya Bharat* by Shri Prem Prakash (Delhi), *Judicial Administration in North-Western Provinces, 1773-1857*, by Ramkumari Shastri (Lucknow), *History of the Judicial Administration in the East India Company's territories in Madras, 1640-1861* by Shri K. A. Ramanathan (Madras), *Development of the Judicial System in India, 1838-1858*, by Shri Ramesh Chandra (Lucknow), *Social Welfare Administration in Madras State* by P. Sarojini Devi (Madras), *Beginnings of Post, Telegraphs and Telephone Communications in the Andhra country* by Shri M. Somashekha Sharma (Madras), *The Mayor's Court at Bombay, 1726-1800*, by Shri R. S. Srivastava (Gujarat), *Agrarian Relations in U.P. in the 19th Century* by Shri Sulekha Chandra Gupta (Delhi), *Jail Administration in Madras with special reference to women and children* by G. Sundari (Madras), *Development of Social Legislation in India* by Usha Roy (Allahabad), *A Short History of the Madras Secretariat* by S. Vijayalakshmi (Madras), *Unions and Associations of Public Servants with special reference to Madras* by N. R. Visalakshi (Madras), *Administration of Lord Curzon* by Shri M. P. Yadav (Agra), *Local Self-Government in India with particular reference to Gujarat* by Shri S. Satyanarayan Sampatrao (Gujarat), *Development of the Bombay Municipal Corporation* by Shrimati N. J. Bharucha (Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *Historical Record of the Early Surveys of India* by Colonel R. H. Phillimore (Survey of India), *Police and Judicial System in Bengal* by Shri Jyotsna Kumar Mitra (West Bengal Record Office), *Permanent Settlement in Bengal; specially on the point of imposition of tax on agricultural income* by Shri Mihir Kumar Sen (West Bengal Record Office), *Rise and Development of Bombay with special reference to Local Self-Government, Legislation and Administration from 1865-1950* by Shri D. R. Murudeshwar (Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *Law and Justice in British India* by Shri Phatik Chandra Raychaudhuri (West Bengal Record Office), *History of Indian Railway Policy* by Shri A. Cherian (Madras), *Social Legislation in the Punjab* by Shri Iqbal Nath Chaudhuri (Punjab), *Military*

History of India, 1859-1918, by Dr. Dharam Pal (Punjab), *History of the Growth and Development of the Posts and Telegraphs services under the East India Company* (a Ph. D. thesis of the Punjab University) by Dr. B.L. Grover, *Agrarian Conditions in Bengal and Bihar on the eve of the Permanent Settlement* by Shri Ranjit Guha (Calcutta), *History of the Indian Armed Forces between the two World Wars, 1918-1939*, by Shri Prem Nath Khera (Punjab), *History of Social Legislation in India in the 19th Century* by Shri Gopal Malaviya (Allahabad), *Revenue Administration of Orissa, 1803-1860*, by Usha Ray (Utkal), *History and Administration of the Banaras Province, 1775-1870*, by Shri Kashi Prasad Srivastava (Allahabad), *Administrative History of Bengal, 1813-1853*, by Shri Anadi Chandra Banerjee (West Bengal Record Office), *The Administration of Lord William Bentinck, 1828-1835*, by Dr. Dharma Bhanu (S.D. College, Muzaffarnagar), *Baroda Administration under Raja Sir T. Madhav Rao, 1775-1883*, by Shri V. G. Joshi (Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *History of the Post Office in India* by Shri B. L. Grover (Punjab), *India and the Public International Unions* by Shri A. R. Rao (Delhi University), *Revenue Administration of the East India Company in the North-Western Provinces, 1835-1858*, by Shri Kripa Dayal Dagg (Lucknow), *The Internal Administration of Lord Dalhousie* by Shri Girija Shankar Tripathi (Banaras), *A critical study of the Thugs and their activities* by Dr. Hira Lal Gupta, and *Suppression of the Thugs in Bihar* by Dr. K. K. Datta, *Administrative and Judicial History of Bengal from 1793 to 1835* by Shri Subhash Roy (Calcutta University), *Indian Administration (1872-1887)* by Shri Jitendra K. Jain (Delhi University), *The Government and Administration under Lord Elgin* by Shri P. L. Malhotra (Delhi University), *Earl of Dufferin—his Indian Administration* by Sowmini Raman (Delhi University), *The Administration of Lord Lansdowne* by Shri Rajesh Kumar Peruverjy (Delhi University), *The Growth of Judicial Administration in Malabar under the British Rule, 1792-1861* (Bombay University), by Shri T. K. Ravindran, *Genesis of Legislative Machinery in India, 1772-1806* (Bombay University), by Kumari R. Sulochana, *Administrative and Judicial*

History of Bengal, 1793-1835, by Shri S. Ray (Calcutta University), *Some Aspects of the Indian Administration in the last quarter of the Nineteenth century* by Shri Dharam Dutt (Delhi University), *Changes in the Administrative System of the Punjab, 1849-1875*, by Shri Y. B. Mathur (Delhi University), *Land Revenue Policy in the North-West Provinces, 1833-1853*, by Mohammad Imtiaz Hussain (Delhi University), *Central Administration of India, 1856-72* by Smt. S. Seigal, *Administrative Policies of the Government of Madras, 1800-1835*, by Shri S. N. Balasundaram (Madras University), *The Internal Administration of Lord Lytton* by Shri V. C. P. Chaudhury (Patna University), *Organisation of the Army from the Mutiny to the Great War* by Shri K. M. L. Saxena (Punjab University), *The Administration of Jodhpur State from 1800 to 1947* by Smt. N. K. Acharya (Rajasthan University), *Udaipur and the East India Company, 1817-1857*, by Shri B. D. Sharma (Rajasthan University), *Udaipur and the British, 1857-1947*, by Shri D. L. Paliwal (Rajasthan University), *The Administration of Rajasthan from 1858-1849* by Shri K. V. Viswanathaiah (Rajasthan University), *Internal Administration of Lord Dalhousie* by Shri G. S. Tripathi (Saugar University), *History and Administration of Saugar and Narbada Territories, 1818-1861*, by Shri N. K. Vaidya (Saugar University) and *British Administration of Orissa, 1850-1900*, by Shri A. K. Das (Utkal University).

Studies on the following topics were undertaken in the Agra University—‘Administration of Lord Hastings’, 1813-23, by Shri M. C. Jain, ‘Administration of India under Lord Minto,’ 1905-1910; by Shri B. D. Saxena, ‘Administration of Justice in the N. W. P., 1858-1901, by Shri P. L. Saxena, ‘John Malcolm in Madhya Bharat’ by Shri B. G. Sharma, ‘The Administration of N. W. P. under James Thomason’, 1843-53 by Shri K. N. Srivastava, ‘East India Company’s Regulations regarding Robbery and Perjury’ by Dr. R. C. Mitra of Chandernagore, ‘Administration of Lord Auckland’, 1836-42, by Shri U. S. Srivastava, ‘Indian Administration of Lord Dufferin’, 1884-88, by Smt. V. Bhattacharjee, ‘Consolidation of Land Holdings’ by Shri O. P. Gupta

and 'A Study of Revenue History of Kanpur', 1801-1921, by Shri R. K. Gupta, and 'Some Features of Famine Administration in Bihar in 1873' by Shri V. C. P. Chaudhury, Research Fellow, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

In 1960, Dr. H. R. Ghosal, Head of the Department of History, Bihar University, discussed the problem of effecting Permanent Settlement in Tirhut¹. Shri Jagdish Raj of the National Archives, New Delhi, has studied the views of Sir John Lawrence about the Oudh cultivators². Reference may be made to Dr. K. K. Basu's interesting paper on *Early British Administration in Bhagalpur*³. Dr. N. K. Sinha has revealed the evidence of an old Qanungo of Hugli, named Kriparam Sinha from an India Office manuscript paper, dated 16th June, 1776, which "gives us a very clear picture of some aspects of the Zamindari system of Bengal from Murshid Quli to Alivardi"⁴. Shri Aditya Prasad Jha of Patna has discussed in a paper the question of the (Tenants' Rights in Bengal and Bihar after the Permanent Settlement (1793-1819).

In 1961 Dr. Barun De (Calcutta) critically examined in a paper the *Arguments of the East-India Company in favour of a Decentralised Form of Administration in India at the time of the Passage of Pitt's India Act, June-July ,1784*. Reference may be made to the papers on 'An Interesting Trial of Rama Kamati in Bombay in 1720' by Shri V. S. Kamat (Bombay), 'A Note on the Kotwali of Poona in the last quarter of the eighteenth century' by Shri P. L. Saswadkar (Poona), 'The Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces under the East India Company' by Dr. R. N. Nagar of Lucknow University, 'The Mutiny of the 47th Bengal Native Infantry Regiment' (1824) by Shrimati Amiya Barat (Calcutta), 'Awadh's Loans to the English East India Company' by Shri K. C. Chaturvedi (Agra) and 'Postal Systems in India' by Dr. B. L. Grover, 'Lord Carmichael in

1. Proceedings, di an Historical Records Commission, 1960.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 1961.

4. Ibid.

Bengal' by Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya¹. 'Indo-British Racial Antipathy during the Morley-Minto Era' by Dr. M. N. Das,² 'Some unpublished Bhagalpur Records' by Dr. K. K. Datta³, 'The Indian Currency Problem', 1885-1900, by Dr. Hira Lal Singh⁴, 'Foundations of Indian Financial Policy'⁵, 'A plan for the abolition of the Supreme Council', 1859-1861, by Dr. Hira Lal Singh⁶, and 'The European Officers of the Bengal Native Infantry' by Dr. Amiya Barat⁷.

Detailed studies on Indian Administration are now being conducted in the recently started Institutes of Public Administration at Delhi and Patna.

As regards the constitutional aspect, some Indian authors have produced books of general nature, which are useful for the average readers. We have, besides these, some original studies, for example, Sir P. C. Sivaswami Ayer's 'Indian Constitutional problems', Sardar K. M. Panikkar's 'Introduction to the Study of the Relations of Indian States with the Government of India' (1927) and 'The Evolution of British Policy towards Indian States' (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1929), Shri Gurumukh Nihal Singh's 'Landmarks in India's Constitutional and National Development' and Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad's 'Origins of Provincial Autonomy', critical editions of Indian Constitutional Documents and several well written papers. In 1915 came out Shri Panchananda Mukherji's work on 'Indian Constitutional Documents', edited with an introduction. Some years back (1949) Messrs. A. Mukherjee and Co. of Calcutta published three volumes of Dr. A. C. Banerjee's 'Indian Constitutional Documents till 1939'. Another volume, entitled 'The Making of the Indian Constitution', by the same author, the documents for the period 1939-47 have been edited. Two other similar works of the same author are on the 'Constituent Assembly of India' and

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1. Bengal : Past and Present, July-December, 1960.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid., January-June, 1961.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Ibid., July-December, 1961.
 7. Ibid.

on the 'Cabinet Mission'. All these works have been critically edited with introductions and are very helpful for students of the subjects. Prof. Tripurari Chakravarty of Calcutta University, a scholar with profound knowledge and high ideas, has contributed some learned articles covering the period till 1947 in different issues of the Calcutta Review. These are —(1) 'Parliamentary Privilege : Its application to Indian Legislatures', (2) 'The Problem of India's Constitutional Status', (3) 'The Indian Constitution (of 1935) Flexible or Rigid?', (4) 'New Light on the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909', (5) 'India's Demand for a Constituent Assembly', (6) 'A Nation in Making : The Unity of India', (7) 'The Reserve Powers of the Governor and Responsible Government in Bengal', (8) 'The Calcutta Review and the Problem of Indian Constitutional Reform in the Nineteenth Century', (9) 'The Evolution of Political Franchise in British India', (10) 'Lessons from the Constituent Assemblies of the Dominions'. Two volumes on 'Speeches and Documents on the Indian Constitution from 1921 to 1947' by Sir Mauric Gwyer and Dr. A. Appadorai were published by the Oxford University Press in 1957. In the Introduction of about seventeen pages the learned authors have given a lucid summary of the important political developments during this period.

We have also good many well written and critical articles on Indian Constitutional problems from the pen of Prof. D. N. Banerjee of Calcutta University, most of which have been published in the 'Modern Review'. Some of these are :- 'The Rajagopalachari Formula and the Congress' (1944), 'The Negotiations and After' (1944-1945), 'The Sapru Committee and Leading Principles of a New Constitution for India' (1946), 'The Swiss System of Government and its Applicability to India' (1946), 'A Note on Fundamental Rights and Constitutional Safeguards' (1947).

A book of mine on "India's March to Freedom", dealing with the period from 1939 to 1947, was published by Orient Longmans Ltd. in 1949.

Some papers on this aspect have been contributed by Indian scholars in the course of the last few years. In 1940 an article on

the 'Board of Control' was written by Dr. Prakash Chandra.¹ In 1953 Dr. S. Gopal threw fresh light on the 'Relations between the Governor-General, the Cabinet and the Court of Directors during Lord Ellenborough's tenure of Office' by studying some original records in the British Museum.² In his book on 'The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon' Dr. S. Gopal has tried to present a critical account of these highly stirring years in the history of India, and his work on the 'Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin' is an important contribution based on original papers. Some theses or dissertations completed or under preparation are : 'Madras Legislature', 1861-1903, by Shri K. C. Markandan, 'States and Civil Liberty in India', 1878-1947, by Shri M. Sreenivasan (Aligarh), 'Democracy in Practice in India' by Shri Umar Wadia Mahesh Batubhai (Gujarat), 'Development of the Doctrine of Paramountcy' by Shri Antia Jamshed Phiroz (Gujarat), 'Growth of Indian Judiciary' by Shri Akshoy Kumar Ghosal (West Bengal Record Office), 'Presidencyship of Indian Legislative Assembly' by Ramesh Narain Mathur (Delhi), 'Centralised Legislation in the Government of India', 1853-1861, by Shri S. Venkata Desikachar (a Ph. D. thesis of the Delhi University), 'Growth and Development of Governor-General's Executive Council' 1858-1919, by Shri R. B. S. Jain (Agra), 'The Imperial Legislative Council of India', 1861-1901, by Dr. Paramatma Saran (Agra University Ph. D. thesis), 'The Secretary of State for India—A Historical Survey' by Shri E. Suryanarayan Murty (Andhra University thesis), 'Presidencyship of the Indian Legislative Assembly' by Shri R. N. Mathur (Delhi University), 'The Origin and Development of the Second Chamber in India' by Shri Radha Govinda Kar (Calcutta University).

Relations between the Indian States and the British Government form a subject of immense importance in the history of modern India. How Lord Hastings sought to establish British paramountcy over them has been well narrated by Dr. M. S. Metha in his work on 'Lord Hastings and the Indian States'. In 1910 came out a volume on the 'Native States of India' by Mr. Lee Warner, who had long experience of Indian

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.

2. Ibid.

affairs. The subject was critically studied after some years by Shri K. M. Panikkar in his two learned works, entitled 'Introduction to the Study of the Relations of Indian States with the Government of India' (1927) and 'Evolution of British Policy towards Indian States' 1774-1858 (Calcutta University Readership Lectures 1929). The Indian States Committee, usually known as the Butler Committee from the name of its Chairman, Sir Harcourt Butler, was appointed in December, 1927, to enquire into the relationship between the Government of India and the Indian States and "to make any recommendations that the Committee may consider desirable or necessary for their most satisfactory adjustment". The Report of this Committee is an important document. A contribution on this subject has been made by Shri G. N. Singh in his book on 'Indian States and British India'. Dr. Raghbir Singh has discussed the position of the Indian States in the proposed Federation according to the Act of 1935 in a volume entitled 'The Indian States and Federation'.

The position and status of the Indian States have been entirely transformed in free India since 1947 through the processes of merger and integration. In 1949 I wrote something about it in my book on "India's March to Freedom". Shri V. P. Menon has made a valuable contribution in his volume on 'The Integration of the Indian States' published in March, 1956. 'End of an Era' by Shri K. M. Munshi, who had a leading role in Hyderabad affairs, is another important work containing detailed information about its post-1947 relations with the Government of India.

Some works on this subject prepared during the last few years are 'Baroda's Political Relations with Central Government', 1875-1920 by Shri V. K. Chavada (M. S. University of Baroda), 'Lord Wellesley and the Indian States' by Dr. Dharma Bhanu, 'Relations of Scindia Dynasty with the British Power in India' by Shri H. K. Kodesia (Agra University), 'Relations between the East India Company and Bharatpur' by Shri G. S. Vashishtha (Agra University), 'The Central Indian States and the British Crown', 1858-1905,

by Shri C. B. Upadhyaya (Banaras Hindu University), 'The Doctrine of Lapse and Lord Dalhousie' by Shri K. K. Sen Gupta (Calcutta University), 'Government and the Indian States', 1880-1905, by Smt. J. Kaur (Delhi University), 'The Relations between Travancore and the British East India Company and the British Crown', 1600-1900, by Mr. P. G. Edwin (Kerala University), 'British Relations with the Punjab Hill States', 1803-1949, by Shri S. S. Lal (Punjab University), 'British Relations with Indore', 1802-1858, by Shri J. P. Saksena (Saugar University), 'British Relations with the states of Bundelkhand and Bagelkhand', 1836-1842, by Shri K. Jha (Saugar University), 'British Relations with Gwalior', 1802-1861 by Sri G. Sharma (Saugar University), 'Travancore and the Carnatic in the XVIII century' by Shri A. P. Ibrahim Kunju (Trivandrum), 'Two Records relating to the Administration of Travancore in the 19th century' by Shri P. David Thomas (Trivandrum), 'Some letters relating to the Correspondence between Lt. Osborae and Dewan Dinbandh Bahadur of Rewa' by Prof. Abinash Chandra Srivastava (Rewa), 'Extract from a letter of Pratap Singh (of Kashmir) to Lord Lansdowne' by Dr. Dilip Kumar Ghose. 'The Background of Diplomatic Contact between the Gaikwar and the East India Company' by Shri Sankar Kumar Datta of Calcutta, 'Bhopal State's Political Relations with East India Company' (1818-1825) by Shri Iqbal Kaul of Bhopal, 'A Study in British Paramountcy—Baroda, 1874-75, by Shrimati M.P. Kamerkar (Bombay), Dr. R. P. Shastri has obtained a Ph. D. Degree of the Rajasthan University for his thesis on 'Zalim Singh of Kotah'. Four other theses prepared under the auspices of the same University are 'Rajasthan between the two World Wars' by Shri P. S. Choudhury, 'Growth of Administration in Bikaner', 1818-1939, by Shri B. P. Gupta, 'Inter-State Relations in Rajasthan', 1669-1818 and 'Bharatpur's Struggle for Independence' by Shri V. P. Seigal, 'The Rajput States and the East India Co. from the close of the 18th century to 1820' by Shri Sukumar Bhattacharya (Calcutta University), 'British Government and the Indian States', 1880-1905, by Shri Joginder Kaur (Delhi University),

'British Relations with the Princely States of Orissa' (1803-1887) by Shri Bejoy Chandra Bhanja Deo (Deo University), 'The Relations of the House of Bikaner with the Central Powers from 1865-1949' by Shri Karam Singh (Bombay University). Dr. Hira Lal Gupta has contributed two interesting papers on (a) 'Dungarpur Succession in '1846'¹ and (b) 'Kotah Succession Affairs', 1820-1838.²

On the basis of the thesis, entitled "Maharaja Nanda Kumar", Shri Benoy Krishna Roy got the Ph.D. degree of the Ranchi University in 1963. This thesis presents a connected and detailed account of the career of Maharaja Nanda Kumar, who played an important role in the history of the Bengal 'Nawab' during the transitional years of the mid-eighteenth century, when the political destiny of our country was taking a new turn. In chapter one the candidate has described the early part of Nanda Kumar's life, that is, from his birth till his appointment as the Dewan of Hugli. In chapter two we get an account of the part played by Nanda Kumar in the political history of Bengal as the Dawan of Hugli and subsequently as its Faujdar. Here the candidate has proved on the basis of original materials that Oudh's story about Nanda Kumar betraying the cause of Sirajuddaulah and the French, when the English attacked Chandernagar, is entirely baseless. Chapter three contains a narrative of Nanda Kumar's activities during his stay in Calcutta after his removal from the post of Faujdar of Hugli till his appointment as the Dewan of the Nawab of Bengal in July, 1763. In chapter four the candidate has carefully described the achievements of Nanda Kumar as the Dewan of the Nawab of Bengal and has explained the causes of his removal from that post soon after the death of Nawab Mir Jafar. In chapter five he has given an account of Nanda Kumar's activities during his stay in Calcutta as a virtual prisoner of the English Company, with whom his relations had ceased to be cordial as the English officers in Calcutta had began to suspect his anti-English attitude and movements. Inter-relationship of Nanda Kumar

1. Journal of Indian History, April, 1959.

2. Ibid., December, 1959.

with Warren Hastings and the three new members of the Council in Calcutta has been described by him in the sixth chapter. The reasons for Warren Hastings' prejudices and hostile attitude against Nanda Kumar have been well examined by the candidate. In fact, Warren Hastings' animosity against Nanda had already started and it had its ultimate consummation in his execution.

All these six chapters are completely original containing Oudh's plenty of new facts. In the seventh chapter Shri Roy has exhaustively described the two trials of Nanda Kumar, one on the charge of conspiracy and the other on the charge of forgery. His interpretations of the circumstances connected with these trials are quite critical and he has thrown new light on them. The end of Nanda Kumar has been traced by the candidate in chapter eight, with a critical note regarding the reaction produced by it in the minds of the people of Bengal. He significantly observes : "Thus, the spontaneous outburst of grief and horror, at the execution of Maharaja Nanda Kumar naturally leads one to think that the people of Bengal had a very high regard for him". In the last two chapters the candidate has made a critical estimate of Nanda Kumar's personality and commented on his tragic end. There is no doubt, as the candidate observes, that "Maharaja Nanda Kumar fell a victim to a well-planned scheme, hatched by his political opponents, who were not prepared to tolerate his opposition to this ambition".

Working under the guidance of Dr. Binoy Krishna Roy Sri Subhas Chandra Mukhopadhyay (now in the Banaras Hindu University) got the Ph.D. Degree of the Ranchi University for his thesis on Rajah Durlavram Mahindra, a prominent Bengal officer of the eighteenth century. This thesis was published as a book in 1974.

Late Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha's autobiography entitled "Some Eminent Behar Contemporaries" was published by Himalaya Publications, Patna, in 1944. But one volume on 'Some Eminent Indian Contemporaries' could not be published during his life time. But he left behind the entire work in typescript, which was published in 1976, with an Introduction, which I had the privilege of writing, by Janaki Prakasan, Patna.

Both the volumes contain varied experiences of one of the most eminent personalities of modern India and are highly useful for all aspects of Bihar's history, particularly the Administrative aspect, *Autobiographical Notes of Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha* being carefully edited by Dr. Hetukar Jha of Patna University, and published in 1976 also contain plenty of important information. Also we have another important biography of *An Indian Patriot Maharaj Lakshmiswar Singh of Darbhanga* written by Dr. Jata Sankar Jha and published in 1972 by Maharaja Lakshmiswar Singh Smarak Samiti, Patna.

In 1966 Shri Tej Pratap Chand obtained the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History from the University of Gorakhpur for his thesis on the *Administration of Avadh (1858-1877)*.

The candidate presents in this thesis a detailed account of the various aspects of the administration of Avadh from 1858 till the year 1877 when it was amalgamated with the North-Western Provinces and ceased to exist as a separate province. It contains seven chapters besides Preface, Introduction, Conclusion and Bibliography. In the Introduction the candidate has traced the background of the history of Avadh from 1764 till its annexation by the British in 1858 and the outbreak of the movement of 1857 after which the Province was reorganised according to the principles laid down in the Government letter of 6th October, 1858. In Chapter I he has indicated the physical features of this area and its territorial divisions before dealing with its general administrative structure. In Chapter II he describes the judicial system, civil as well as criminal, with reference to the laws administered, powers and functions of the Courts and their procedure. He has pointed out the various defects of the judicial administration. In Chapter III he has studied Police administration at different stages with the help of statistical data by pointing out its merits and demerits. In 1876 "the strength of the regular police of all grades stood at 5,887, and the strength of the force excluding all guards on quasi-military duties was 4,886."

In the opinion of the candidate the "profound changes that occurred in British Indian policy after the mutiny are nowhere

so distinctly perceptible as in the system of land administration in Avadh." So he has tried to describe exhaustively Land Policy and Land Revenue Administration in Chapter IV. After examining the considerations which led the British Government to introduce a taluqdari settlement in Avadh he has analysed its salient features under successive British officers. He observes that the Viceroyalty of Lawrence "marked a new phase in the history of the Avadh land problem". The changes introduced by Act XXVI of 1886 "were", he observes, "generally ruinous for the under-proprietors and the rights of the under-proprietors were sacrificed. Even the Oudh Rent Act XIX of 1868 failed to provide any safeguard to the interest of the cultivators. It was, the candidate notes, "a serious blow to the Avadh tenantry...". In Chapter V he has discussed the other sources of revenue, viz. assessed taxes, salt tax, opium tax, stamp and excise duties. After indicating the feature of the indigenous system of education in Avadh, the candidate has studied in Chapter VI the state of education here in general during the period under review, with reference to the beginnings of English education, the filtration theory for imparting education, the various schemes of education following the famous Despatch of Sir Charles Wood, organisation of schools at different stages and efforts for female education chiefly by the Christian Missionaries. He holds that "the progress of education in Avadh under British rule, was quite satisfactory." In Chapter VII we get a detailed description of the various Public Works undertaken and executed in Avadh during this period.

On the merit of his thesis, entitled 'Internal Administration of the Central Government in India (1869-1880)', Shri Satish Kumar Bajaj got the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (in History) of the Delhi University in 1967. This thesis covers the period of the Viceroyalties of Mayo, Northbrook and Lytton. The candidate has presented in it an account of the policies and administrative measures of the Government of India in relation to finances, trade and customs duties, famine and agrarian as well as public works. Besides

analysing the various factors which owed their origin to British imperialism and to the internal conditions in India, and which were responsible for the various policies and administrative measures, he has tried to estimate their effects on the country from socio-economic points of view and also with reference to the reactions of Indian public opinion on them.

In the Introduction the candidate has reviewed the state of affairs in the varied spheres of Indian administration from 1857 to 1869 indicating the effects of the movement of 1857 on each of these. In Chapter One he has discussed the problem of financial resources and equilibrium with ample details about Mayo's scheme of financial decentralisation and imposition and withdrawal of income tax. Referring to the measures of the Government to bring about financial equilibrium he observes that their success "can be testified only from the balance sheet of these twelve years. There was not a single year except the years of famine which witnessed deficit. But, at the same time, surpluses were not large enough to relieve the Government from anxieties of the following years. The Government was placed in a tight position". Chapter Two contains an account of the steps taken for modernisation of tariff and abolition of cotton duties. The effects of these on the economic condition of India have been carefully examined by the candidate, who also points out that "the abolition of cotton duties resulted in a serious political crisis" as this meant a sacrifice of the interests of India to the greed of Manchester. Chapter Three is a review of the administration of salt and opium revenues. In the Fourth Chapter the candidate has given an exhaustive description of the plans formulated during this period to solve the vexed but important problem of revenue settlement. Background to the proposal of Permanent Settlement, the various arguments for and against it and the compromise between permanent and temporary settlement, mentioned in Ripon's Despatch of October, 1882, have been clearly elucidated by him. In Chapter Five he has given

an interesting account of British Policy towards Indian peasantry in the background of the relationship of the three potential parties, the Government, the Zamindar and the Cultivator. In spite of all that the Government sought to do to provide some sort of relief to the peasantry, the Zamindars continued to oppress them in various ways. For payment of enhanced rents and cesses, the cultivators borrowed money from the Mahajans at high rates of interest and sunk more and more into the whirlpool of indebtedness. In fact, rural indebtedness continued to be a tragic feature of Indian economic life and the Government "could not afford to antagonise influential and conservative class of landlords".

In the Sixth Chapter the candidate has discussed the causes, nature and effects of the famines in India and has examined Government's famine policy based on various measures introduced in different areas some of which were visited by the Viceroys themselves. The candidate observes that "as the Government was passing through a serious financial crisis in the nineteenth century, it showed unsteadiness and hesitation in the adoption and execution of a famine policy". Railway administration through different systems and its repercussions on the economic condition of the country have been studied by him in details in Chapter Seven. Irrigation policy in different phases (1869-72, 1872-1876, 1876-1880) has been reviewed in the next Chapter. In the concluding portion of this thesis the candidate remarks that "thinking of the high ranking bureaucracy and the immediate political and economic exigencies were the main factors which directed the course of internal administration" in the period covered by this study. He does not share the view of some old writers that the "Government was not much interested in developing irrigation schemes, in comparison to railways". He thinks that the "period from 1869-1880 forms a distinct background to the administrative policies of the Government of India in the last quarter of the nineteenth century".

On the merit of the thesis, entitled "The Rajput States and

The East India Company from the close of the 18th century to 1820", Shri Sukumar Bhattacharyya obtained the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Arts) of the University of Calcutta in 1967. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of the relations between the Rajput States and the East India Company during a period, marked by a new turn in the political destiny of India on the decadence and ultimate collapse of the old order and the emergence of a new one in the wake of the development of British supremacy in our land. It contains seven chapters, besides a Map of Rajasthan and a Bibliography. In the First Chapter, which is an Introduction to the whole work he has traced the growing political disintegration in Rajasthan which was then, as he rightly points out, "in a state of dissolution—political, economic, social and moral", and when this region was "ruled in most cases by minors, weaklings, drunkards and debauches who were incapable of maintaining the traditions of their ancestors in war and government." Among the factors responsible for this state of affairs in Rajasthan he mentions baronial troubles of the period which were "closely related to the Rajput clan system". This clan system aggravated inter-state rivalries which produced disastrous consequences for this land.

As a means of escape from Maratha exploitation and domination, and aggression of the Pindaris and the Pathans, the Rajput States entered into political relations with the English. This was a process from the time of Wellesley till the close of the administration of Marquis of Hastings. In Chapter II the candidate has discussed how Cornwallis and Shore followed the policy of non-intervention as laid down in clause 34 of Pitt's India Act, which was, however, changed at the time of Wellesley, and treaties were concluded by him with some of the Rajput States in 1803-1804. "The rest of the Rajput States", as the candidate writes, "were yet to be brought under British protection. So the future of the Rajput States hung in the balance. Yet the administration of Lord Wellesley marked an important step towards the

incorporation of Rajputana in the British Indian Empire". In Chapters III & IV he has given exhaustive accounts about the revival of the policy of non-intervention by Cornwallis and Barlow and its continuation by Minto, which left the Rajput States more exposed to external aggressions and to tragic inter-state wars there which were dragging them into ruin. In this pathetic condition they welcomed British protection which they got with the change of policy during the administration of Marquis of Hastings. This has been reviewed by the candidate in Chapters V and VI. In the Epilogue Chapter VII the candidate has explained how "although external aggression and Pindari depredations were no longer to be feared" after the conclusion of the Treaties by the different Rajput States with the East India Company during the administration of Marquis of Hastings, "the restoration of internal authority and order proved to be a very baffling task".

For the thesis, entitled 'The Mughal and the British (1806-1837)', Shri Gouri Shankar Mukhopadhyay obtained the Ph. D. Degree of the University of Burdwan. In this thesis the candidate has reviewed the relations between the Mughal ruling dynasty and the British in the period from 1806 to 1837 and has traced the final eclipse of the authority of the former in the face of rapidly rising British political supremacy in India. Chapter I, which is introductory, does not contain anything new or original. But in the subsequent chapters the candidate has incorporated plenty of new information supplementing the details already mentioned by Dr. Percival Spear in his well-known book on 'Twilight of the Mughals'. The pathetic story of the tragic fate of the so-called Mughal Emperors during the period under review has been narrated by the candidate in details.

In 1970 Dr. Somnath Roy, Lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department of History of the Magadh University, in his Ph.D. thesis presented a detailed account of Indian Politics and Constitutional Development between 1853 and 1892, these dates being highly significant in the history of Modern India.

It contains ten chapters, some appendices and a bibliography. It was published by Meenakshi Prakasan, Meerut, in 1975.

In the first chapter Dr. Roy has traced the background of his subject from the year 1773, when the Regulating Act determined by its several clauses, the relationship between the Company's Government in India and its Home Government, and the inter-relationship in matters of administration among the three Presidencies in India. He has also analysed the various factors, which promoted nationalism in our country during the 19th century and has indicated the important features in its different phases. In the second chapter, Dr. Roy has discussed the genesis and provisions of the Charter Act of 1853 and its reaction on Indian public opinion with reference to the views of different groups and individuals. "The new Charter", he points out, "failed to satisfy the leaders of the Bengali Community" and it "did not fulfil the major demands of the Indian people."

In the third Chapter Dr. Roy has examined the effects of the Indian Revolt of 1857-59 and the factors leading to the passing of the Act of 1858, which transferred the Indian territories and administration of the Company to the control of the British Crown. In the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters we get exhaustive accounts of the clauses and working of the Indian Councils Act of 1861, which was one of the most momentous legislative enactments. The role of various Societies and Associations in the history of nationalism and constitutional development has been reviewed in the seventh chapter. Resolutions and efforts of the earlier sessions of the Indian National Congress from 1885, and the presages of the Act of 1892 and its provisions and significance have been elaborately discussed in the eighth and ninth chapters. In the concluding chapter Dr. Roy holds that certain observations regarding the contributions of the Indian nationalists of the nineteenth century are not fair. Those who subscribe to the view mentioned above "fail to take into consideration the peculiar situation in which the nineteenth century nationalists

had to work. The sun of the British imperialism was at its zenith" then.

The writer is a conscientious scholar with a spirit of genuine devotion to research and higher studies, by virtue of which he has produced this work which I consider to be a valuable contribution. It is based on a careful and comprehensive study of various categories of original sources, according to the upto date methods of historical research. In all the chapters, except the introductory one, the writer has incorporated plenty of new information and his interpretations are rational, well-warranted by relevant facts.

In 1971 Shri Raghunath Jha obtained the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Bihar for his thesis on, 'Aspects of District Administration in Bihar', 1793-1833. Both the years 1793 and 1833 are highly significant in the history of India from political, administrative and economic points of view. In spite of what has been already written about these aspects for this important period, marked by the rapid expansion of British imperialism in India and the growth of an Indo-British administrative system as a corollary to it, there is yet ample scope for original studies regarding these.

In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of District Administration in Bihar from 1793-1833. It contains five chapters besides a conclusion, appendices and bibliography. In the first chapter he has traced the evolution of District Administration till 1792. There is nothing original in this portion, which is a sort of a background and is based on secondary works. In the second chapter he has discussed the effects of the Cornwallis Code and the Permanent Settlement on District Administration on the basis of original sources and by referring to the relevant Regulations then passed by the Company's Government. After mentioning the good features of the reforms of Cornwallis in District Administration, he has also noted some of its defects. In the third chapter the candidate has described the position and multifarious duties of the

Collector from 1793 to 1833. He observes that "the primary objects behind the introduction of the Permanent Settlement and those mentioned in the preamble to Regulation 2 led to a thorough overhauling of the arrangements for the internal government of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The district administration became the focal point of reform. The revenue administration was separated from other branches of administration and the Collector was cut to the size of a mere revenue official head of the district revenue set-up, only". The subsequent changes up to 1833 have been noted by him.

The fourth chapter contains a detailed account of the position and functions of the Judge-Magistrate who was made an officer quite distinct from the Collector in the period studied by the candidate. In the fifth chapter he has reviewed the changes introduced in police administration in this period. He has noticed the defects of the police organisation in spite of these changes.

In 1974 Malti Sharma got the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Lucknow for her thesis entitled 'Indianisation of the Civil Services in British India'. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of the Indianisation of Civil Services in British India and has amplified its manifold aspects. It contains twelve chapters and an exhaustive bibliography. Chapter I is a historical background from 1793-1858. The candidate points out that the "broad principles of British policy towards Indian employment in the civil service were embodied in the Charter Act of 1833. It was a 'landmark' because it threw open to public competition all appointments in the Covenanted Service". She has also noted how by the Charter Act of 1853 the "system of nomination and patronage was replaced by one of appointment after a competitive examination". To give effect to the provisions of the Charter Act of 1853 Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control, sought the advice of a Committee of which Macaulay was Chairman. The Macaulay Committee,

as the candidate writes, "strongly advocated the open competitive system" but "intended to secure the competitors from among those who had received the best general education in the British Schools and Universities".

Indian agency in administration between 1858 and 1866 and between 1866-1872 has been described in Chapters II and III, respectively. She has rightly mentioned that the "competitive system was a distinct failure from the point of view of the Indianisation of the services". The pledge of Queen Victoria in her Proclamation of 1858 "clearly failed" as the candidate significantly notes, "to provide Indians with a chance of admission in the upper ranks of the public service of the Crown", Sir Charles Wood appointed a Committee to consider the question of Indian administration. The Committee submitted its second report on January 20, 1860. "It arrived at the unanimous conclusion that it was not only just but expedient that Indians should be employed in the administration of India, to as large an extent as possible consistent with the maintenance of British supremacy. No effect was given to this recommendation". The Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 was a "cause of disappointment of Indians" as "the British Government tried to put Indian candidates to circumstances of exceptional difficulty". Views of the East India Association, of Dadabhai Naoroji, of Henry Fawcet, a friend of India, of Lord Lawrence, of the Duke of Argyll and of Lord Mayo have been analysed and the provisions of the Act of 1870 have been examined. The problem of Indianisation of the Civil Service in British India (1872-1876) has been studied in Chapter IV with reference to the opinions of the Viceroy of India Lord Northbrook, of Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India of the Civil Service Commission and of some others regarding this matter.

The subject of Statutory Civil Service has been discussed in Chapter V, and Lord Lytton's views about it have been critically examined. The candidate gives credit to Lord Lytton for having "real grasp of the problem of Indianisation of the Civil Service in British India". Lytton's

correspondence with persons like Sir William Muir and Sir George Chesney and Chesney's letter have been quoted to explain Lytton's point of view.

The Civil Service Agitation from 1858 to 1893 has been reviewed in Chapter VI. Views of prominent Indian leaders and British statesmen including Lord Ripon, of the British Indian Association and of the Indian Association have been elucidated here. Role of the Indian National Congress and particularly of Surendra Nath Banerjea in this matter have been explained in details. Circumstances leading to the appointment of the Atchison and its recommendations have been described in Chapter VII. In Chapter VIII we get an account of the factors which led to the passing of the famous Resolution of the House of Commons regarding Civil Service, passed in 1893. The candidate writes that "the year 1893 witnessed what may be regarded as a notable event in our political history", though there was opposition to this Resolution from the Government of India and the different Provincial Governments except the Government of Fort St. George. The Resolution was not implemented by Her Majesty's Government and the Indian National Congress challenged this attitude. "The rejection of the plan of a competitive examination in India by the Government was a painful experience to the leaders of the Congress who had profound almost pathetic belief in the efficacy of moral pressure on the British authorities".

Circumstances leading to the appointment of the Islington Commission have been discussed in Chapter IX. Attitudes of Curzon and Hamilton have been critically examined. The recommendations of this Commission, which signed its Report on the 14th August, 1915, have been surveyed in Chapter X, and it has been pointed out how "the proposal of simultaneous examinations was rejected by the Islington Commission." Chapter XI is devoted to a study of conditions which were in favour of the gradual Indianisation of the Indian Civil Service from 1917 to 1935 with special references to the Government of India Act, 1919, the proposals of the Lee Commission and

the Government of India Act, 1935.

On the merit of the thesis, entitled "Relations between the Government of India and the Indian States : 1858-1881", Shri Ajit Kumar Neogy got the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Arts) of the Jadavpur University in 1973. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of the relations between the Government of India and the Indian states between 1858 and 1881, both the dates being significant landmarks regarding this subject. The thesis contains nine chapters, three appendices and a bibliography. In Chapter I the candidate has examined the impact of the Revolt of 1857 on the relations between the two. He has stated rightly that "while the Government of India relieved the Chiefs and the Princes from one of their nightmares by ensuring peaceful succession after their death even in case of failure of natural heirs, it cleverly took away from the states some of those elements of sovereignty to which they were formally entitled under the Treaties. There is no denying the fact that the Adoption Sanad introduced a new tone and temper in the relations between the Government of India and the Indian states, but the price which the British Government exacted in exchange for this concession was very high." He has also noted how the old policy of interference in the internal affairs of the states was "abandoned in favour of a policy of benevolent interference" and "the obligation of the Indian Princes to maintain good government was enunciated by the Viceroys from time to time." "In fact", as the candidate writes, "the period following the Mutiny witnessed the elaboration as well as the fulfilment of Canning's favourite theory of *one charge*."

In the second chapter the candidate has discussed the Paramount Power's control over succession in the Indian states by citing instances of states like Hyderabad, Bhawalpur, Kashmir, Nrownagar, Alwar and Baroda. Chapters III, IV and V contain descriptions of the occasions for interference of the British Government in the internal affairs of the Indian states and an examination of the steps taken by them in this respect. In Chapter VI we get interesting accounts of the judicial

relations between the Government of India and the Indian states and gradual introduction of social reforms in Indian states through the efforts of the former.

Some aspects of economic relations between the Government of India and the Indian states have been examined in Chapter VII. As the candidate writes, "one important aspect of the economic relations between the paramount power and the princely states, was the issue of survival of the latter's mints and coins. Questions of law, contract and custom arose in connection with the development of this policy. Another aspect of the economic relations was connected with the numerous salt agreements concluded with the Indian states and with this fiscal system was also connected, as in the former, the question of mutual contracts and obligations governing the entire salt policy of the Government of India."

In Chapter VIII we read about restoration of princely administration in some states like Mysore, Baroda and Hyderabad. The candidate rightly observes that "the year 1881—the year of the rendition of Mysore—is a landmark in the history of British paramountcy."

Chapter IX deals with the policy followed by the Government of India in regulating and controlling inter-state relations and how they placed restrictions "on the relations between the Indian states and the foreign powers."

On the merit of the thesis, entitled 'British Policy Towards Hyderabad 1858-1883', Smt. Bharati Sen Gupta (Mrs. Roy) obtained Ph. D. Degree of the University of Calcutta in 1973. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of the policy of the British Government towards Hyderabad from 1858 to 1883. It contains ten chapters, several appendices, a bibliography and some illustrations.

Chapter I is a background tracing the previous history of Hyderabad and its earlier relations with the British East India Company's government. In closing this chapter which brings the story upto the 'Mutiny' of 1857 the candidate has noted here from 1858 "Hyderabad and other Indian States entered into a new phase of relations with the British—a phase that saw their gradual transformation from the Company's protected allies

to the paramount and suzerain Queen's subordinate States". The Nizam was a faithful ally of the British Government during the 'Mutiny'. But, as has been described in Chapter II, what he received in return for this was not really 'reward'. By the treaty of 1860, he got back Raichur and Dharaseo but the British got hold over Berar, which meant a great loss for the Nizam. The candidate significantly points out that "the treaty of 1860 was scarcely a reward for a government, which 'had not an eye to its own advantage' and had steadfastly stuck to the British cause". In Chapter III she has explained how paramountcy of the British Government became 'paramount' over Hyderabad as in the case of the other Indian states. We read in Chapter IV that this paramountcy was challenged and there was a rift between the British Government and Salar Jang over this question. The details of the Berar problem have been explained in Chapter V. The British Government wanted to retain Berar under them at any cost, but Salar Jang's life mission was to recover it. For his efforts to get back Berar and other measures to defend the position of his master the Nizam, Salar Jang was not at all liked by Lytton or Ripon. "Lytton's proceedings were highhanded and imperialistic". From a critical review of the Berar question, the candidate justly observes, "it cannot but strike one that the British Government took a legalistic but not a humanitarian approach to it. They took advantage of the friendship and weakness of a state which no doubt derived benefit from British protection, but was made to pay too heavy a price for it. The sudden death of Salar Jang removed the last obstacle from the path of absolute British domination over Hyderabad." In Chapter VI the attitude and policy of the British Government towards the military forces of Hyderabad have been reviewed by the candidate and he has characterised these as cautious and watchful. The main trends of British economic policy in relation to Hyderabad have been discussed in Chapter VII. Events and the various motives of the British Government leading to the introduction of railways, post offices and telegraph system have been analysed in Chapter VIII. The two-fold judicial policy of the British Government regarding

Hyderabad has been studied in Chapter IX. Chapter X is a resume of what has been narrated in the preceding chapters and it has been observed here that "an all-round development took place in Hyderabad during the late nineteenth century. It may be said without exaggeration that Hyderabad owes its modernisation to a great extent to its contact with the British".

On the merit of the thesis, entitled 'Manbhumi under the East India Company', Shri Debkumar Chakrabarty obtained the Ph.D. Degree of the Ranchi University in 1973. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of Manbhumi under the East India Company, during a period marked by rapid expansion of the British Empire in India. In Chapter I he has traced as a sort of background the history of the area covered by Manbhumi from the ancient period till the establishment of British control over it. In Chapter II he has described how with various strenuous efforts the East India Company was able to establish its authority over this region between 1765 and 1784, both of which are highly significant dates in the history of modern India. This is followed in Chapter III by examination of the measures adopted by the East India Company's Government to consolidate its authority over Manbhumi from 1785 to 1832 with particular references to the Chuar revolts in Manbhumi and Barabhum in 1798-1800 and the Kol Insurrection of 1831-32, the effects of which have been clearly discussed. In Chapter IV we get an account of The Bhumij rebellion of 1832 in Barabhum under the leadership of Ganganarayan with whom the principal ghatwals were in alliance. It was a serious challenge to the Company's authority and its suppression caused considerable strain to its civil and military officers. The new administrative arrangements introduced by the Company's Government after this rebellion leading to the formation of the district of Manbhumi have been noted by the candidate.

Role of Manbhumi in the Santal Insurrection of 1855-57 and during the Revolt of 1857-59 has been discussed in Chapter V. Chapter VI contains a description of some aspects of the social life and economic condition of the various sections and castes of the people of Manbhumi.

In 1977 The World Press Private Limited, Calcutta,

Calcutta, published a book entitled 'Kashmir in Transition 1885-1893' by Dr. Dilip Kumar Ghose, Professor and Head of the Department of History, University of Burdwan. It is a valuable publication dealing with highly complex events in the history of Kashmir during a critical period. "The major aim of the present work has been", writes the author, "to analyse how the State of Jammu and Kashmir was integrated with the rest of the Indian Empire during the Viceroyalties of Dufferin and Lansdowne without actually amending the Statute. The change in Kashmir's status was dictated mainly by political considerations. But it also envisaged a scheme of economic, social, administrative and military reforms for the transformation of Kashmir into a modern State."

On the merit of the thesis, entitled 'Maharaja Ram Singh and Modernization of Jaipur State (1803-1880)', Lakshmi Sinha got the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Rajasthan in 1974. For various reasons Jaipur has been the most progressive State of Rajasthan.

In this thesis the candidate has presented an account of its modernization in different aspects between 1803-1880 through many reforms, introduced by Maharaja Ram Singh, "whose attitude towards the British Government has been described as being constantly loyal and respectful" and who had "the earliest benefit of English education and administrative training under very able and efficient British officers" during his minority (Preface). It contains eight Chapters, Conclusion, Glossary, Bibliography and Appendix.

Chapter I contains an introductory background of the history of Jaipur from 1808, when a Treaty was concluded between Maharaja Jagat Singh of Jaipur and the East India Company. Condition of Jaipur before Ram Singh's birth has been described in Chapter II. Chapter III is a review of Jaipur administration during Ram Singh's minority, 1833-1850. In Chapter IV we get an account of Ram Singh's education and training, and his role in the Indian Movement of 1857 (1850-1857), which was one of "love towards the paramount power". Referring to Ram Singh, the candidate observes: "When the Mutiny broke out, he acted in no

uncertain manner. He at once placed the whole of his forces, amounting to between six and seven thousand troops at the disposal of the Political Agent, Major Eden, leaving only 700 sepoys and 1,800 police for the defence of the capital". The Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, wrote a letter to the British Government acknowledging the loyal services of Jaipur during the critical period.

The era of progress in Jaipur, in various branches, has been carefully studied in Chapter V. "The young Maharaja", writes the candidate, "was by this time firmly in the saddle. His first task was to set his own house in order. He turned his attention towards the improvement of administration and welfare of his people in which he was remarkably successful. He used to look into the details of every department of the State and kept himself fully well-informed of what was going on in the different branches of the State administration". He introduced important changes in all departments of Government. Continuation of progress, reforms in various spheres of education including female education, development of libraries and other institutions, improvement of places and gardens, and organisation of famine relief works have been described in Chapter VI. Condition of Finance in the State and the Jagirdari system have been reviewed in Chapters VII and VIII respectively.

In 1975 Shri Jogindar Singh Kohli got the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval and Modern Indian History of the Lucknow University for his thesis entitled "Political and Military Transactions of Sir Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington) in India". In this work the candidate has presented a detailed account of the political and military activities of Sir Arthur Wellesley in India during a highly significant period in her history marked by the fall of the leading Indian powers and growth of British imperialism. In Chapter I he has traced his heredity and early years of life, followed in Chapter II by his arrival in India after leaving Britain on November 7, 1797 and his early services here. The candidate points out in Chapter III that the "union of the two brothers—Richard and Arthur—imparted a dynamic emphasis

to their career in the eventful first decade of the nineteenth century. Arthur Wellesley's career in India was coeval with Lord Wellesley's spectacular administration as Governor-General".

Prelude to Mysore War has been discussed in Chapter IV with a review of some important contemporary Indian events and Arthur Wellesley's plan for reorganization of the Madras army and other war preparations.

Tipu Sultan of Mysore was undoubtedly a formidable foe of the English and he wanted to purge India of them. His hatred towards the British was expressed in a sentence in one of his written communications : "An Englishman, a dog, and a pig were three brothers of the same family". Role of Arthur Wellesley in both the phases of the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War and in the settlement of Mysore after this war has been described with ample details, with their criticisms and an estimate of Arthur Wellesley's military and administrative capacities of high order with confidence in himself. Referring to Arthur Wellesley, the candidate significantly remarks : "His influence was conspicuous in every stage of the conquest and settlement of Mysore". It has been pointed out in Chapter VII how the famed Maratha freebooter named Dhoondiah Wagh was suppressed by Arthur Wellesley, who thought it to be "absolutely necessary for the peace and tranquillity of Canara and Malabar". In Chapter VIII the candidate relates how Arthur Wellesley solved what he rightly describes as "the incalculable problems connected with the settlement of Mysore" and also refers to his disappointment for certain reasons.

Arthur Wellesley's engagement with Mysore affairs (April 1801—February 1803) have been described with full details in Chapter IX. The candidate incidentally mentions that during his second tour of duty Arthur Wellesley came to know "that Europeans of all classes beat Indians or had them beaten." "The practice is very irregular [and illegal]", Wellesley wrote on 6th September, 1802, "if it is not speedily put a stop to, it will tend to the injury of the troops. In this country, as in England, no one has the right to take the law into his own hand, or to punish another". "Arthur addressed himself of the task of solving the

knotty problem of Malabar and Wynnaad with his cruel sagacity and thoroughness". The next chapter deals with the Treaty of Bassein and its significance for further development of British imperialism in India. Arthur Wellesley's observation about the Treaty is quoted : "I may, therefore, conclude that the treaty of Bassein and the measures adopted in consequence of it, only afforded the best prospect of preserving the peace of India, but that to have adopted any other measure would have rendered war with Holkar nearly certain, and war with the whole Mahratta nation more probable than it could be under any other course of events".

Circumstances leading to the restoration of the Peshwa and its significance have been reviewed in Chapter XI. "The restoration of the Peshwa to Poona, a personal triumph for Arthur Wellesley, opened", writes the candidate, "a new chapter in the history of the Marathas", because by it the first stage of the war between the English and the Marathas during the administration of Wellesley was over. Beginning of the Anglo-Maratha War has been traced in Chapter XII. We get here "an idea of the 'bleak sublimity' of Arthur Wellesley's genius from his tireless war preparations for the coming war". Plans of Arthur Wellesley have been carefully elucidated. Chapter XIII is a description of the battle of Assaye. Arthur Wellesley's policy about it has been criticised by many. The candidate has referred to these. But he has observed that the "wisdom of hazarding a battle was justified. Assaye was a triumph of discipline". Last phase of the Second Anglo-Maratha War and Arthur Wellesley's part in it leading to the conclusion of the treaties by the Sindhia and the Bhoshle have been discussed in Chapter XIV.

Chapter XV is an Epilogue, in which there is a resume of what has been written in the preceding chapters and a critical estimate of Arthur Wellesley's work in India before he sailed for England on the 10th March, 1805. "His return from India", the candidate remarks, "closed a chapter in his life. The lessons he learnt were of the utmost value. He could not have a better school than India". It is fair to say that in many ways Arthur Wellesley played a vital role in the making of the British Empire of India and it is also true that the hero of Waterloo got an excellent training in India."

SECTION VI

ECONOMIC CONDITION

Over and above all is the supremely important task of preparing a true history of the people of India since her contact with the West. Their economic condition, social life, education, literature and culture must be studied in details with due emphasis on original sources. Genius, judgement and technique of master-artists must be applied to the outcome of investigations conducted on scientific lines by zealous and well-trained scholars to draw out an accurate picture of the varied aspects of life of the teeming millions of India during the eventful periods of modern history. We must try, by the application of proper methods of historical research, to ascertain, as perfectly as possible, the material conditions and economic resources of the common man, the tillers of the soil, the workers in the looms and the ordinary day-labourers, and also the nature and extent of our country's mercantile and financial transactions, so that knowledge of the past can be fruitfully utilised for the formation of sound plans of economic reconstruction.

The importance of the study of modern India's economic history was well realised by the great pioneer writer, the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, who opened our eyes to it through his highly valuable works, entitled *India under Early British Rule*. *India in the Victorian Age*, *Famines and Land Assessments in India*. Subsequently some others devoted themselves to the study of this aspect, and the few important works that have come out are *Commercial Relations between India and England and Industrial Decline of India* by Dr. Balkrishna, *Economic Annals of Bengal* (1927) by Dr. J. C. Sinha, three volumes of Dr. P. N. Banerjea, viz. *Indian Finance in the days of the East India Company* (1928), *A History of Indian Taxation* (1930), *Fiscal Policy in India* (1922), Major B. D. Basu's *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries* (1935) ; *Trade, Tariffs and Transport* (1923) by Prof. K. T. Shah, *Indigenous Banking in India* (1922) by

Shri L. C. Jain, *Early European Banking in India* (1927) by Dr. H. Sinha, *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subak: Social and Economic* (1935) by Dr. K. K. Datta, *Indo-British Economy, Hundred Years Ago* by Dr. N. C. Sinha, *Industrial Evolution of India in Modern Times* (1938) by Shri D. R. Gadgil, *Foreign Trade of India since 1870* by Dr. P. Ray, *Growth of Trade and Industry in Modern India* by Vakil, Bose and Deolalkar; *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* by Dr. A. R. Desai (1948), and *The Evolution of Indian Industries* by Shri R. Chaudhuri, *Economic History of the Bombay Deccan and Karnatak* (1818-1868) by Dr. R. D. Chaudhary. In 1950 the Patna University published a very important work on economic history, entitled *Economic Transition in the Bengal Presidency* (1793-1833) by Dr. H. R. Ghosal of L. S. College of Muzaffarpur. This volume is based on a comprehensive study of all kinds of original documents and has deservedly earned high appreciation of scholars. "The period from 1793 to 1833", writes the author significantly, "formed a momentous epoch in the history of India. It was marked by changes of far-reaching consequence which vitally affected the social and political conditions of the Indian people. In the midst of these mighty changes the eighteenth century saw its burial and the nineteenth century its birth. In other words, the era was the meeting-ground of two different sets of historical forces, a link between the old and the new". The author has carefully and critically examined all these changes, which caused a veritable economic revolution in our country. In 1954 Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya brought out a volume on *The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal from 1740*. He has based his account on the *Fort William Consultations, or the Bengal Public Consultations*, as they are called, which "recorded the day to day transactions and developments of the Company's affairs in Bengal" and have been carefully preserved in the India Office Library (now the Commonwealth Relations Office). The idea of preparing such a work struck me when I studied in the thirties of this century copies of such records, found in the Imperial Record Department (now National Archives of India), and I wrote a relevant paper on *Some*

unpublished English Letters relating to the History of Bengal during the regimes of Shujauddin and Sarfaraz for the seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Baroda in December, 1940. I am gratified that the idea has materialised through the efforts of my friend Dr. Bhattacharya, whose work forms a valuable contribution to our studies on India's economic history. He has rightly pointed out that "the period under review was a crucial one, for it was this period which saw the changes and developments that led to Plassey in 1757".

We get also a critical study of Indo-British economic relation between 1813-1833 in Dr. Amalesh Tripathi's book on *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency (1793-1833)* published by Orient Longmans, Calcutta, in 1956. Shri Tarasankar Banerjee (Calcutta University) has written a thesis on *Inland Trade of India (1834-1900)*. Dr. Pabitra Bhaskar's book on *Development of the Mineral Industries of Bihar (1833-1918)* a thesis that obtained for him Ph.D. Degree of the Patna University in February 1976.

Economic History of Bengal in three volumes has been written by Dr. N. K. Sinha. These learned contributions are based on original records. Dr. A. V. Raman Rao's book on *The Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh, 1766-1957*, was published by the Popular Book Depot, Bombay, in 1958. Written in four parts, this work presents a general account of the economic condition of this area for a period of two hundred years. Dr. V. A. Narain's Ph.D. thesis of the London University on *Jonathan Duncan and Varanasi* was published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay of Calcutta in 1959. It is a valuable work based on both official records and private papers, which contains a detailed account of the life and career of Jonathan Duncan upto 1795 when he left Banaras to take up his new post as Governor of Bombay. In Chapters IV-VI we get a critical discussion about Duncan's economic policy (1785-95), Justice, Law and Order, and Duncan and Indian society. In the same year this Publisher brought out a volume of *Studies in the Economic and Social Development of Modern India : 1848-56*, which also was a Ph.D. thesis

submitted in the London University by Dr. M. N. Das of Bhuvaneswar, Utkal University. In ten chapters and conclusion this work contains a detailed account of the economic and social changes during the administration of Lord Dalhousie, which, as the author rightly points out, forms "a significant period of the modern Indian history". A book of mine, entitled *Survey of India's Social Life and Economic Condition in the Eighteenth Century* (1707-1813), was published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay in 1961. A revised edition of it has been published this year by Munshiram Manoharlal of Delhi.

We can also refer to some papers contributed during the last three decades on the different aspects of India's economic condition. In a paper on *The English Monopoly in Indian Spices*, written in 1937, Dr. Balkrishna indicated how the English secured monopoly of Indian spices by the end of the 18th century and for "fifty years this monopoly was developed by securing exclusive rights of purchase and sale of pepper from the princes of the Malabar, so that in the beginning of the 19th century both Indian and European merchants were excluded from purchasing pepper in the territories of the western coast of India."¹ In 1940 Dr. J. C. Sinha reviewed the *Economic condition of the Ceded Districts from 1800 to 1807*.² In about two years, Shri B. B. Chakravarty traced in a paper the *Introduction of tea-plantation in India*.³ In 1945 Dr. H. R. Ghosal brought to light some facts regarding *Danish Trade in Bengal at the close of the 18th century* and Shri U. N. Sarkar (of Imperial Record Department) now National Archives of India, contributed a paper on *The Merchandise of Peshawar and of the Neighbouring Markets in 1838*.⁴ Next year Dr. H. R. Ghosal studied some old documents relating to *Saltpetre Manufacture in Bihar in the early nineteenth century* and Khan Chaudhury A. Ahmed (of Cooch Behar) wrote on *Slavery in North-East India*.⁵ In 1948 Dr. A. C. Banerjee (of Calcutta

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1937.

2. Ibid, 1940.

3. Ibid, 1942.

4. Ibid, 1945.

5. Ibid, 1946.

University) reviewed *India's Trade with Turkestan in 1873* on the basis of some records of the National Archives, and Dr. H. R. Ghosal gave an account of *Indo-South African Trade 1797-1819*.¹ Next Year Dr. Amalesh Tripathi (Calcutta) wrote a paper on *Some reflections on the East India Company's Charter of 1813*.² We had in 1951 a paper on *Trade Union Spirit among the weavers of Bengal towards the close of the eighteenth century* by Dr. H. R. Ghosal, and another paper on *Political and Commercial Relations of the French in India before 1777* by Shri R. C. Mitra.³ In 1953 I indicated in my study of *An Old Village Survey Report* how valuable materials for the study of economic conditions of our old villages can be gleaned from such reports.⁴ A similar paper was written in 1954 by a Research Fellow of mine, and now a Reader in History, Patna University, Dr. Qeyamuddin Ahmad.⁵ In 1954 'Dr. H. R. Ghosal wrote a paper on *Indo-Portuguese Commercial relations in the early nineteenth century*⁶, and next year⁷ he studied some records relating to *The Company's Commercial Residencies in the Bengal Presidency*. In 1956⁸ he discussed the activities of the *Americans in East India Trade (1794-1819)*.

Some theses published subsequently are : *Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Delhi* by Shri K. L. Sachdev, (Agra University), *Economic History of Tamil Districts, Early British Period*, by Shri K. K. Krishna (Poona), *Social and Economic conditions in the Punjab in the nineteenth century* by Shri Mahesh Chandra (Punjab), *Inter-Asiatic Trade in 17th and 18th centuries* by Manu Dutt (Calcutta), *Economic Development of Hyderabad, 1921-50* by Nagalakshmy Venkataswamy (Delhi), *Indo-British Relations in the Economic Field* by Shri Satya Narain (Delhi), *Social and Economic Conditions of Bengal in the 18th Century* by Shri Ranjit Guha (West Bengal).

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1. Ibid, 1948 (Delhi),
 2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1949.
 3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Record Commission, 1951.
 4. Ibid, 1953.
 5. Ibid, 1954.
 6. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1954.
 7. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955.
 8. Ibid, 1956.

Record Office), *Socio-Economic History of Midnapur, 1760-1803* by Shri Narendra Nath Das (Calcutta), *Indo-Chinese Trade Relations, 1750-1850* by Shri Kamal Kumar Ghatak (Calcutta), *Social and Economic Survey of N.W.P.* by Shri S. N. Sinha jointly with Shri Radhe Shyam (Central Record Office, Allahabad), *Socio-Economic Conditions in India in the 18th and 19th centuries* by Khwaja Ahmed Faruqi (Delhi), *Private Commercial Dealings of East India Company, 1757-67* (National Archives, New Delhi), *Economic Development of Assam* by Shri D. N. Sharma (Delhi University), *Economic Impact of the West on Indian Industries* by Dr. Hira Lal Gupta and the paper on *Sir Louis Mallet's Mission to Lord Northbrook on the question of the Cotton Duties* by Dr. Lalit Gujral, *Evidence of some correlations of Rents and Prices in Bihar under early British Rule* by Shri Ranjit Guha, *Some Unpublished Documents relating to Horse and Cattle Breeding in Tirhoot (1794-1804)* by H. R. Ghosal, *The Surveys and Operations at the Petroleum Springs and Oil-Beds in Assam (1826-58)* by Dr. H. K. Barpujari, *The British Indian Association and the Indigo Disturbances in Bengal* by Shrimati Sujata Ghosh (Calcutta), *Cultivation of Cotton in Bengal* by Dr. Barun De, *Manchester, India Office and the Tariff Controversy, 1858-1882* by Dr. Amalesh Tripathi, *The Company's Saltpetre Revenue in Bihar: A Historical Sketch based on unpublished Records* by Dr. H. R. Ghosal, *Some unpublished records on the State of Currency in Bihar* by Dr. Jata Shankar Jha, *The Struggle for Trade in South-East Asia and India's Trade with Malaya and Indonesia (1793-1819)* by Shri Basanta Lal Mandal of Katihar College, Bihar, *An Experiment at Tea Plantation in Uttar Pradesh* by Dr. Dharmendra Bhanu, *Factors influencing India's ability to maintain its Monopoly of the Cotton Export Trade after 1865* by Dr. Frenise A. Logan (Madras), *The System of Indigo Cultivation in North Monghyr* by Shri Surendra Prasad Sinha (Patna), *Early British Commercial Adventures to Japan* by Prof. Shyam Behari Singh (L. S. College, Muzaffarpur), *Attempted Traffic with the Chinese Through the North-East Frontier (1831-38)* by Dr. H. K. Barpujari, *Economic Measures of Lord Ripon's Government*

(1880-84) by Shri Sunil Kumar Sen (Calcutta), *The Indian National Congress and The Problem of Poverty* by Dr. Bimla Prasad (then Patna University), and *Indians in East Africa* by Shri Ambika Charan Kundu (Calcutta). Original works on certain topics relating to India's economic history are under preparation in the Calcutta University. These are *Some aspects of British Fiscal Policy with special reference to Tariff Policy (1858-1895)* by Shri Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, *Agrarian History of Bengal in the second half of the 19th century* by Shri Gautama Chattopadhyay, *Indigo Plantation in Bengal—Its political, economic and social effects* by Shri Amalendu De, *Agrarian Conditions in Bengal from 1885 to the beginning of the 20th century* by Shri Saugata Mukherjee, *Economic Development of India (1880-1914)* by Shri Sunil Kumar Sen, *British Trade in the Bombay Presidency (1787-1833)* by Shri Suprovat Kumar Sen, and *The Agrarian History of Bihar (1757-1793)* by Shri Pradip Sinha. In the Delhi University some scholars were engaged in original studies on the following topics,— *History of Indigo Plantations in India in the 19th century* by Bharati Roy, *Development of Trade and Industry in Northern India (1833-1860)* by Shri Suresh Chandra Sehgal, and *The Economic Policies of Indian National Leadership* by Shri Bipin Chandra. In his papers on *Malabar in 1740 and The Makings of Travancore*¹ Dr. Ashim Das Gupta of Calcutta has examined the development of trade in Malabar in the eighteenth century. In 1972 the University of Rajasthan awarded Ph. D. Degree to a candidate for his thesis on *Impact of British sovereignty on the economic conditions of Rajasthan*.

In 1962 Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay of Calcutta published an important and well written volume on the Ryotwari System in Madras by Dr. Nilmani Mukherjee, then employed in the History Department of the Calcutta University and now Professor of History, Kalyani University.

The same publisher brought out in 1966 a book on 'European Agency Houses in Bengal' by Dr. S. B. Singh, who secured on its merit Ph.D. Degree and is now Professor

1. Bengal: Past and Present, July-December, 1960 and July-December, 1961.

and Head of the Department of History, Magadh University, Bodh Gaya.

In 1968 came out a book on '*The History of Indian Famines, 1858—1918*' by Dr. Hari Shankar Srivastava, Head of the Department of History, Gorakhpur University. It is a valuable work containing plenty of details about an important subject relating to the economic condition of modern India.

In 1973 Shri S. K. Mittal secured Ph. D. Degree of Meerut University for his thesis, entitled 'History of Indigo Industry in North Bihar (1817-1917), A Politico-Economic Study with special reference to Champaran'.

Bihar's economic importance in the past was due to varied industries, viz. cotton industry, saltpetre industry, opium industry and indigo industry, which helped her to develop wide-spread commercial relations,—European, Asiatic and inter-provincial, to the benefit of her people. But in the period following the political revolutions accomplished by the battles of Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764) and as a result of growing British imperialism and of the Industrial Revolution of the West, there was pathetic economic decline of Bengal and Bihar which adversely affected their indigenous industries and trade to the detriment of the interests of her people.

From the closing years of the eighteenth century indigo industry passed absolutely under the control of the European indigo planters who transacted their business by establishing factories in the interior corners of the country and by committing various oppressions on the poor ryots. The woes of the ryots caused by tyranny of the indigo planters knew no bounds. Their piteous appeals to the authorities mingled with the air, till their deliverance from acute agonies was effected by the Champaran Mission of Mahatma Gandhi in 1917-18, which produced significant results in different spheres.

This story has been narrated in details in the thesis. It contains eight Chapters and some Appendices. In Chapter I

the candidate has presented a historical survey of indigo industry and of the planters whose notorious practices made the ryots "the poorest and most wretched class". In Chapter II he has described the different systems of indigo cultivation, of which the Tinkathia system, as he rightly points out, was the most oppressive and was very much responsible for "all the troubles and miseries of the tenants of Champaran". In Chapter III the candidate has mentioned how there were simmering discontent and sporadic uprisings against the inequitious system of indigo plantations but the miseries of the ryots continued unredressed. He notes that the "Government and the Bihar Indigo Planters' Association by their reformative measures pacified temporarily the excited public mind but left the root cause of indigo upheavals as untouched as ever." In Chapter IV we get an account of the uprising of the indigo peasantry in 1908 and 1909. Deputation of W. R. Gourlay by Government to enquire into the causes of the discontent and uprising pacified the situation. "Although Gourlay's enquiry did help in restoring peace to the disturbed locality but its findings were never made public."

In Chapters V to VIII, we have elaborate descriptions about Mahatma Gandhi's intervention, leading to the appointment of the Champaran Enquiry Committee and removal of the grievances of the ryots. Mahatma Gandhi's mission was a moral crusade against various socio-economic maladies from which the people of Champaran were suffering and its humanitarian aspect is of profound significance in the history of modern Bihar. Champaran, indeed, proved to be the nursery of India's new nationalism which developed within a few years under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

In 1973 Shri Narayan Prasad Singh obtained Ph.D. Degree of the Bihar University on the merit of his thesis entitled "The East India Company's Monopoly Industries in Bihar with particular reference to Saltpetre and Opium—1773-1833." In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of the Monopoly Industries of Bihar with

special reference to Opium and Saltpetre Industries, from 1773 to 1833, both of which are significant dates in the history of modern India from administrative as well as economic points of view. It contains eight chapters and some appendices from original documents. Chapter I is a sort of background in which the candidate has pointed out the importance of both these Industries prior to 1773 and the English East India Company's policy regarding these before that date. In Chapter II he has discussed the circumstances and motives leading to the establishment of Opium Monopoly by Warren Hastings in 1773 and its effects. Chapter III is a description of the system of contract for supply of opium and the establishment of the Agency System in 1797 and its organisation. Steps taken by the Company's Government to make the contract stringent has been pointed out by him. He has also reviewed the questionnaire issued by Cornwallis "eliciting information on thirteen points of opium business from the Collectors of puffygrowing districts" and has shown how "Cornwallis's zeal for reform did not only protect the interests of the ryots, it also safeguarded those of the contractors." He has noted how in April, 1793, Cornwallis transferred the management of the opium business from the Board of Revenue to the Board of Trade and abolished the office of the Superintendent of Opium and has mentioned the conditions of contract for opium in Bengal and Bihar. He has indicated the growth of opium smuggling, in spite of various steps taken by the Company's Government. The evils of the contract system which led the Company's Government to substitute it by the Agency System have been analysed by him. In Chapter IV we get an elaborate account of the organisation of the Saltpetre Industry, with particular reference to the terms employed in the Saltpetre manufacture. In Chapter V the candidate describes the various aspects of Saltpetre Industry from 1759 when Clive obtained monopoly of it from Mir Jafar till 1813 when the East India Company's Charter was renewed for the second time. Position and influence of the Opium Agent have been discussed in Chapter

VI. In Chapter VII importance of the Charter Act of 1813 from the economic point of view has been discussed and history of Opium and Saltpetre Industries after 1813 has been described.

On the merit of the thesis, entitled 'The Economic Life of a Bengal District, Birbhum, 1793-1857', Shri Ranjan Kumar Gupta obtained Ph. D. Degree (Arts) of the Calcutta University in 1976. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of varied aspects of the economic life of the Birbhum District in Bengal, between 1793 and 1857, both of which are highly significant dates. Incidentally he has described the general life of the people, the contemporary official organisation, the British Commercial Presidency and various other factors which relate to subject matter of his thesis. It contains an Introduction, eight Chapters, Appendix and Bibliography and an old map of Birbhum drawn by Captain Sherwill in 1852. In Chapter one the candidate has dealt with the nomenclature of the land of Birbhum, its earlier history particularly of the Nagar Raj, Birbhum under the English : the Administrative and Judicial changes between 1766-1857, the natural features with reference to the hazards to settled cultivations and the difficulties in the way of its growth. He points out that "only one-third of total area of the district was under cultivation, the remaining two-thirds, being covered with forests and jungles", and that "the district economy hinged, among other things, on the reclamation of forest lands in a planned and selective manner". He has further studied the role of rent-free tenures in stabilisation of agriculture, role of the rivers system in the District Economy, the Urban and the Rural settlements, and means of communication and transport as a cause and effect of the "backwardness" of the district, social dimension of the Economic life among the Hindus, agricultural settlements by the Aboriginal Tribes, and power-structure in the Rural Society.

Chapter two is a prelude to the Permanent Settlement. The candidate has discussed the harmful economic effects of

the Maratha raids into Bengal and of the Famine of 1769-70. After mentioning Government reaction to the famine he has referred to increasing revenue demand despite the economic collapse. He has contradicted the thesis of greater bargaining power of peasantry vis-a-vis the Zamindar. Composition of the agricultural community has been indicated, and it has been pointed out how the combination of the Government and the Zamindari amlas, money-lenders and the Mandals caused miseries to the people whose lot had been made miserable due to the Famine. "The equitable distribution of burden of taxes and abwabs might have eased to some extent", the candidate writes, "the ryots at large. This did not happen. Thanks to the manipulation of the *Mandals* the burden fell heavily on the inferior ryots." The candidate has noted the variations in the rent-rate, the consequences of the entry of the *Pykast* (non-resident) ryots in agriculture, and effects of price fluctuations in agricultural produces. Breakdown of the district administration led to an insurrection. We are told that the "Government in order to cope with the extremely serious situation came forward with a policy of blood and iron accompanied by one of appeasement —one complimentary to the other". "The appeasement measures of the Government towards the rebel ryots", the candidate writes, "were of special interest for the revenue settlement of the district". This is followed by a review of the disturbed state of affairs in the District from the time of introduction of Decennial Settlement in the background of which the Permanent Settlement came into effect on March 22, 1793.

In Chapter three the candidate has examined "the hazards attendant on the operation of the Permanent Settlement and the consequential impact on the zamindar and the ryot. Effect of the rigorous sale law on the zamindars was disastrous and "the process of fragmentation of the zamindari into numerous estates proceeded rapidly". The candidate has further referred to some economic crises and their effects on land and landed interests, and also to resumption of

rent-free lands by the zamindars. He has studied the history of some new zamindars, particularly the Hetampur Raj. Chapter four is a detailed study of the district economy under three heads : (a) agriculture, (b) rural manufacture and industry, and (c) trade and commerce. The candidate has analysed the factors responsible for the depressed state of agriculture and the impact of the moribund agriculture on economy.

In Chapter five the candidate has given an account of rural manufacture and industry. Garha cloth (a coarse variety), raw silk, sugar, indigo, shellac and iron constituted the main manufactures of the district. The candidate has made enquiry broadly under three heads viz, (1) market of the article, (II) organisation of production, and (III) some constraints on the growth of production, etc. He deals with the trade of the French and the English in the district and describes commercial supremacy of the English under John Cheap. He has shown how "in the production of garhas and their eventual purchases the *gomasta* (native agent) of the cloth merchants played the key role". Production of raw silk in the district has also been discussed with ventures of some Europeans in this respect. Significance of the silk industry in the district economy has been explained. This is followed by description of sugar industry in the district, in which it is pointed out that "low price and high quality of Birbhum sugar attracted increasing number of merchants that gave the industry a tremendous spurt till 1806". Some constraints on the industry are also mentioned. But, as the candidate observes, "after 1874 the Bengal sugar trade witnessed spectacular revival". Then we get accounts of indigo industry, and shellac and lacquered articles. After this there are interesting and detailed descriptions of mineral industries like coal and iron.

In Chapter six the candidate deals with trade in agricultural produces and some related questions like finance, currency, communication and transport. He has mentioned two kinds of constraints on trade and commerce, (i) those-

relating to imperfect communication and transport and (2) industrial constraints of various kinds. He has also taken into account the institutional constraints and the currency difficulties, general poverty and lack of indigenous capital. In Chapter seven the candidate has traced the growth of towns and trade markets with special reference to the process of development of Suri, the district headquarters and has indicated the nature of urban growth. General economic condition of the district during the period under review has been studied in Chapter eight, which also includes a description of the Santals and of the Santal Insurrection of 1856.

On the merit of the thesis, entitled 'The Cotton Weavers of Bengal, 1757-1833', Shri Debendra Bijoy Mitra, got Ph.D. Degree (Arts) of the University of Calcutta in 1976. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of Bengal's cotton industry with special reference to the cotton weavers, in the period from 1757 to 1833, when India's destiny took a new turn politically and as a sequel to it economically also. It contains six chapters, a glossary, some appendices and a select bibliography.

In Chapter one the candidate has stated briefly the main theme of what follows in the subsequent chapters. In Chapter two he has described India's trade in cotton piece-goods from the ancient period with details of investments relating to some years of the period under review, even to other foreign countries besides England. "Cotton piecegoods", he writes, "formed the most important item of exports from Bengal". Fluctuations in the Export Markets have been noted. How the exports of Bengal piecegoods to Great Britain gradually declined has been explained and it has been observed how "by the close of the first quarter of the 19th century, the demand for Bengal piecegoods nearly ceased". The candidate rightly holds that the most important reason for the decline of the (cotton) industry was the Industrial Revolution in England.

In Chapter three, the candidate has described production-organization in cotton industry before Plassey and after Plassey

and the different methods of the procurement of Investment. The various oppressions committed on the weavers in collection of Investments by the English Company have been narrated. The effects of the Famine of 1770 on cotton trade have been indicated. The effects of the declaration of freedom in trade and of some coercive Regulations have been examined and it has been shown how the weavers were unrewarded for their labour. The effects of the Charter Act of 1793 and of the Napoleonic Wars on Investments have been carefully analysed.

“Internal and external factors for which the English Company could not establish an exclusive control in the buyers’ markets” have been thoroughly discussed by the candidate in Chapter four. Significance of the Cotton Industry in the general economy of Bengal and the effects of the gradual decline of Bengal’s cotton industry have been critically and exhaustively examined by the candidate in Chapter five. In concluding this chapter he writes : “The cotton industry thus played a very vital role in the economic life of Bengal. The weaving manufactories were dispersed throughout the country and weaving and spinning had become the national occupation. Secondly, the size of the population engaged in the industry was considerable. Though it is not possible to precisely estimate the total population it may be said with some certainty that weaving formed the occupation of the bulk of the total population engaged in different industrial pursuits. Thirdly, weaving was not only a part-time occupation in addition of the primary one. To a considerable section of the weavers, it was a whole-time occupation. They depended wholly on it. To some weavers it was a part-time occupation. As a part-time employment weaving was also remunerative and enabled the weavers to supplement their income. Lastly, the decline of such a significant industry of Bengal had far-reaching consequences. Among other things, its collapse resulted in the progressive ruralization of the old urban centres of production of cotton goods”.

In Conclusion (Chapter six) the candidate has significantly remarked that the “decline of the cotton industry in Bengal in the first quarter of the 19th century is a significant development

from the standpoint of the socio-economic *history of Bengal.*" He has examined "whether the decline of the cotton industry resulted in an imbalance in the economy as a whole."

In 1976 for the thesis entitled 'Revenue Administration in Bihar with particular reference to Land Resumption Proceedings, 1793-1858' Shri Kabindra Prasad Singh secured the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of the Bihar University.

In this thesis the candidate has studied the Revenue administration in Bihar between the period 1793-1858 both of which are significant dates in the history of modern India. It contains six chapters, some appendices, and a bibliography. In chapter one, in which the candidate has traced the background from 1765, there is nothing original. But in the other chapters new information and interpretations have been presented by the candidate on many points. In chapter two he has discussed the origin and working of the Permanent Settlement, from 1793-1818, by referring to the views of some prominent contemporary British officers in Bihar, and has discussed the motives of the Company's Government in introducing the Permanent Settlement. In chapter three there is a description of the early phase (1793-1818) of the Land Resumption Proceedings. Final phase of the Land Resumption Proceedings (1819-1830) is dealt with in chapter four. In chapter five we get an estimate of the impact of the Land Resumption Proceedings in different spheres—economic, social and political. The candidate has pointed out how the Land Resumption Proceedings caused discontent in different quarters and were partly responsible for the Movement of 1857-59.

SECTION VII

RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL

The nineteenth century proved to be a marvellously creative age, marked not only by the growth of new political consciousness in human minds in different parts of the world but also by brilliant achievements in the domain of knowledge ; varied currents of thought and wonderful triumphs of science and culture causing a remarkable transformation in social life. In spite of India's political dependence, one can notice from the early years of the 19th century the advent of new forces, which being nourished by various influences, caused a splendid awakening of Indian minds, a luxuriant unfolding of India's intellect in manifold petals, and the renovation of her society by the purging of those evils and anomalies which had accumulated through unwholesome and adverse influences of the preceding periods, particularly during the dark days of the eighteenth century.

The birth of the new age, and its progress on various lines, were caused and facilitated by certain factors, exotic as well as indigenous. These were India's growing contact with the West, full of vitality in knowledge, ideas and actions. The inspiring political and scientific thoughts of masterminds like Bacon, Locke, Voltaire, Burke, Bentham, Mill and Newton, and the humanitarian ideas of the philanthropists like Wilberforce and his friends, which penetrated into this country through various agencies, created stimulating forces in favour of progressive changes in Government, society and culture.

But no reform can be successful unless there is also an urge from within for it. By a happy coincidence of events, this too appeared in India at this time due to a spirit of renaissance or a new consciousness, seeking to discover correctly and reveal the true glory and majesty of her past culture and thus inspiring successive generations for onward march. Mingling of the progressive ideas of the West and the revived classical lore of India produced brilliant results in the spheres of society and

culture. The Indian Reformation Movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and Indian nationalism have accelerated further progress in these respects. In fact, the new India of today is the culmination of the various processes generated and fostered by these forces.

Study of this aspect of our modern history is indeed highly fascinating and instructive. For it we can glean precious materials from the *Reports of the Social Conferences* which met along with the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress, the *Reports and Presidential Addresses of the Indian National Congress* from year to year, Reports and other publications regarding the activities of the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramkrishna Mission and the Vivekananda Movement, and the Servants of India Society, etc., Memoirs, autobiographies and biographies of those, who were the leaders of these activities from Rammohan to Mahatma Gandhi, are also full of relevant information of great interest. Writings of the Christian missionaries, then working in India, contain accounts of Indian social life, which can be utilised with due care and scrutiny. Old newspapers and journals, Census Reports and other State papers supply us with valuable materials. One must also study carefully the different literatures of modern India for proper appreciation of her social changes. Literature is indeed the most ruthless mirror of a country's life.

It is gratifying to note that Indian scholars have been devoted to study of this aspect for some years. In my volume on the *Bengal Subah*, already referred to, I tried to present a picture of the *State of education and Social Life in Bengal* in the transitional years of the mid-eighteenth century by a scrutiny of all available sources. In 1936 came out another book of mine, entitled *Education and Social Amelioration of Women in pre-Mutiny India*, also written on the authority of various original sources, such as, contemporary unpublished and published English records, contemporary histories, pamphlets, tracts etc., both in English and Bengali, contemporary journals, magazines, gazettes and reviews in English as well as Bengali, and biographies or autobiographies of eminent

personalities who flourished during that period. In February-March, 1950, I delivered a series of lectures under Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar Memorial Lectures scheme of the Nagpur University which soon published these in the form of book of the title *Dawn of Renascent India*. After carefully utilising all kinds of relevant original sources, I discussed in it the beginnings of those changes in Indian society, education and thought which ultimately transformed her into the new India of modern times. I have written same chapters describing Indian social life from 1707 to 1813, in my work, entitled *Survey of India's Social Life and Economic Condition in the Eighteenth century*.

Some years back late Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvansi obtained Ph. D. Degree of the Allahabad University on the merit of a thesis on *Indian Social life, 1750-1813, from European Sources*. He prepared another work on *Indian Society in the 19th century as affected by European influences*. Dr. G. S. Sahay (of Christian College, Lucknow) wrote for his Ph. D. Degree a thesis on *Christian Missionaries and Indian Education* by utilising for it Government records and reports of the Christian missionaries. In 1956 a colleague of mine, Dr. Rai Shivendra Bahadur (of Nalanda College, Bihar Sharif, Bihar) was awarded the Ph. D. Degree of the Patna University on the merit of his thesis on *Indian Social Life and Education (Female) from 1813-1856*. In 1961 Dr. Jata Shankar Jha, a Research Fellow of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, was awarded Ph. D. Degree of the Patna University on the merit of a thesis on *Education in Bihar (1813-1859)*. This work, prepared after a careful study of different kinds of unpublished and published sources, presents a comprehensive and detailed study of the State of Education in Bihar from 1813 to 1859. Both these dates are highly significant not only in the political history of India, but also from social and cultural points of view. As a matter of fact, this period was marked by momentous changes in India's social life and in the condition of her education and culture. The works noted in this para have not been yet published.

Reference may be made to the articles contributed during the recent years by Indian scholars regarding this aspect of our life. In 1937 Dr. K. R. Qanungo (lately Head of the Department

of History, Lucknow University) threw some side-light on the *History of Benares, Political and Social*, from a study of the *Selections from the Peshwa Daftari*.¹ In 1939 Prof. C. V. Joshi (of Baroda) wrote on *Social Reform under Maharaja Anandrao Gaekwad*². In 1942 Dr. B. S. Baliga (Curator, Madras Records Office) contributed a paper on Humanitarian Ideas in Madras, 1800-1835, and Dr. K. K. Basu (Professor, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur) gave an account of some *Sati* cases.³ In 1945 Dr. P. C. Gupta (then of Calcutta University and later, Vice-Chancellor, Rabindra Bharati University) prepared a note on the *Early Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.⁴ In 1948 we had a paper on *Some aspects of Education in Madras in the Early Nineteenth Century* from Dr. B. S. Baliga.⁵ In 1953 Dr. H. K. Barpujari (of Assam) brought to light some documents relating to *Education in Assam in the Early Days of the Company*.⁶ Next year Shri S. C. Gupta (of National Archives, New Delhi) discussed *Some Views on Moral Education culled from the Records of the Government of India*. In 1960 Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay published a book, entitled *Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century* by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. It consists of three learned lectures delivered by this eminent historian at the Visvabharati, Santiniketan, on certain important aspects of Bengal's history during the creative period of the nineteenth century.

Some theses recently prepared relating to Indian society and culture in modern times are *A Chapter of the Early History of Education in Bombay Presidency* by Shri R. N. Jog (deposited in the Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *Education in Gujarat during the first half of the nineteenth century* by Shri R. K. Pathak (Baroda, deposited in the Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *Social Legislation in Mysore, 1850-1919*, by S. Anasuya (Mysore), *Beginning of Western Education in*

1. *Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1937.
2. *Ibid.*, 1939.
3. *Ibid.*, 1942.
4. *Ibid.*, 1945.
5. *Ibid.*, 1948.
6. *Ibid.*, 1953.

Assam by Bena Deka (Delhi University), Social Conditions in Northern India in the second half of the 19th century with special reference to the position of women by Kum. S. Dua (... University), Social and Economic History of the Punjab under the Sikhs, 1800-1849, by Shri Joti Ram Gupta (Punjab), Social and Economic History of the Punjab, 1839-1901, by Shri Gurubaksh Singh (Punjab), Social and Economic History of the Punjab, 1900-1950, by Shri Gurdial Singh (Punjab), History of Women's Education, 1880-1935, by Miss Labanya Bose (Allahabad), Social Life in Northern India in the first half of the nineteenth century by Lalita Panigrahi (Delhi University), Social and Cultural History of Rajputana from 1500-1800 by Shri Nath Ram Khadgawat, University Education in India from 1850-1954 by Shri B. N. Pandeya (Delhi University), An Educational Survey of the Thana District, Bombay State, by Shri N. R. Parasnis (Bombay), Indian Society in the Eighteenth Century by Sarala Baijal (Delhi University), History of Education in India during 1904-1937 by Shri R. C. Srivastava (Allahabad), Development of Social Legislation in India since 1858 by Miss Usha Roy (Allahabad), A Source Book of the History of Education in the Bombay Province by Shri R. V. Paruckar (Bombay), Social Legislation in the Punjab by Shri Iqbal Nath Chaudhuri (Punjab), History of Social Legislation in India in the 19th Century by Shri Gopal Malaviya (Allahabad), Bengal Renaissance, 1800-1854, by Amitabha Mukherjee (Calcutta), Social Welfare Administration in Madras by Sarojini Devi (Madras), Control of Primary Education in India with special reference to U. P. by Shri Satya Prakash (Allahabad), History of Missionary Educational Enterprise in India by Shri J. C. Schgal (Punjab), Art Education in India, 1840-1900, by Shri M. R. Achrekar (Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), Social life in N. W. P. 1805-1858 by Shri Onkar Prasad Bhatnagar, (Central Records Office, Allahabad), A Comparative Study of the Socio-Religious Customs of the Hill Tribes of Assam by Shri Tajendra Chandra Das (Assam), Christian Missionary Activities during the time of the East India Company by Mr. C. S. Franklin (Lucknow University), Religious Life in India at the advent of

British Rule by Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvansi, 'Religious Movements of the 19th century with special reference to Radha Swami Sect' by Shri A. P. Mathur (Agra University), 'History of Education in U. P., 1835-1846', by Kum. S. Srivastava (Agra University), 'Muslim Society in Northern India in the 18th century' by Muhammad Umar (Aligarh Muslim University), 'Role of Women in Indian Social Reform' by Smt. U. Raina (Allahabad University), 'Harijan Problem in India, 1900-1947', by Shri G. P. Saksena (Allahabad University), 'History of Vernacular Education in Bengal in the 19th century' by Shri N. L. Basak (Calcutta University), 'Social and Religious Reforms in Bengal in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century' by Shri Amitabha Mukhopadhayay (Calcutta University), 'Education in U. P.', 1853-1900, by Kum. M. Mishra' (Lucknow University), 'Educational Policies in the Madras Presidency, 1800-1900', by Shri M. Sargurudass (Madras University), 'Social Aspects of British Rule in Gujarat' by Shri M. J. Mehta (University of Baroda), 'Social and Educational Amelioration of Women in post-Mutiny India', 1857-1947, by Sudha Rani (Punjab University), 'History of Education in the Madhya Pradesh, 1858-1900', by A. C. Srivastava (Saugar University), and 'Social Reforms in Orissa during British Rule' by Shri N. R. Hota (Utkal University), 'Evidence of unpublished Documents on E. E. Trevelyan's Ideas on Education' by Shri V. N. Datta, Compiler, Gazetteer Unit, New Delhi, 'Education in the Darbhanga Raj 1880-1900' by Dr. Jata Shankar Jha, 'Early thoughts of the British Government to suppress Human Sacrifice in the Ghumsar Hill Tracts of the Ganjam District of Orissa', 1838-1845, by Sri S. C. De, 'The Native Education System in Delhi in 1824' by Shri Krishna Lal (Jaligarh), 'State of Vernacular Education in the Patna District' by Shri Jadunandan Prasad (Patna), 'Standards of Social Morality in India at the advent of British Rule' by Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvansi (Rajasthan University), 'The Census of the Delhi Territory, 1823, by Shri Krishan Lal (Jaligarh), 'Sanskrit Education in Bengal in the Nineteenth Century' by Shri R. C. Mitra (Calcutta), 'Wall-Paintings at Baharu (19th century) in the District of Twenty-four Parganas, West-Bengal, by Shri

Shailendra Nath Samanta (Calcutta), 'Development of Bahaiism in India 1844-1960' by Shri Hiralal Chopra (Calcutta), 'History of social reform in the 19th century' by Shri G. A. Bhatt (Bombay University), 'Sati as a social institution in Bengal' by Shri Amitabha Chaudhury, and 'The Institution of Slavery in Mithila' by Dr. Upendra Thakur.

In my volume on 'Selections from Unpublished Correspondence of the Judge-Magistrate and the Judge of Patna, 1790-1857' the first edition of the book on 'Renaissance, Nationalism, and Social Changes in Modern India', was published by Bookland Private Ltd., Calcutta, in August, 1965 and they brought out its second edition in August, 1973. Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, published in 1972 my book on 'Socio-Cultural Background of Modern India', which was a revised edition of a book of mine previously published under the title of 'Dawn of Renascent India' by Allied Publishers. About three years back I wrote a comprehensive 'Social History of Modern India' dealing in it with varied aspects of Modern India's Education and Social Life. It was published by the Macmillan Company of India Limited in 1975.

In 1965 on the merit of the thesis, entitled 'Rural Bengal in the Second Half of the 19th Century—Some Aspects of Social History', Shri Pradip Sinha obtained D. Phil. (Arts) Degree of the University of Calcutta. This thesis contains seven chapters including Degree, Introduction and Bibliography. In the Introduction the candidate has explained the scope and nature of his work. He observes rightly that "by the end of the 19th century a substantial segment of metropolitan society, entirely divorced from rural roots, in a physical sense, had undoubtedly grown. And this physical dissociation from rural society could not be without some effect on traditional way of life." In Chapter One we get a picture of Agrarian Society with an account of the indigo system, its 'compulsive character' and its harmful effects. He has shown how the "resistance movement that grew against the indigo system made a deep impression on contemporary Bengali thinking", particularly in the period from 1850 to 1860, and has pointed out that the "agrarian disturbance in Patna

in 1873, a great event in the history of Bengal in the 19th century, had a spectacular impact on both official and non-official thinking in Bengal". In spite of the "complexity introduced by the law-courts, the traditional habit tended to persist". "To a social historian", the candidate significantly remarks, "the agrarian society does not appear to consist of a single strand, but of multiple and complex forces in which lies the chief interest of social history." In the second chapter the candidate has traced the progress of English education and rural response to it. "The extraordinary enthusiasm for English education which was not confined merely within metropolitan and urban limits, is", he notes, "one of the most significant features of the social history of Bengal in the second half of the 19th century." The Muhammadan community, however, remained very much uninfluenced by English education.

The third chapter presents an interesting account of the condition of a suburban village in Bengal in the period under review, with a new element of urbanism introduced into it. The candidate observes in this connection that "the proliferation of old wealthy families into different branches, not always resident in the villages, the dispersal of the more enterprising section of the gentry, the habit of litigation leading to disruption of families of tradition, the growth of a partly educated class not always finding employment might be considered to have been some of the features of the late 19th century suburban society." He has pointed out how *Kulin* polygamy "tended to breed a kind of social cynicism". In the fourth chapter he has drawn a picture of 'Rural Towns' in Eastern Bengal with special reference to rural-urban reciprocity and to the influence of the progressive wing of the Brahmo Samaj in some rural towns of Eastern Bengal. The fifth chapter is a study of the rural mind through rural songs of various categories, the Bhatiali and Bhawaia, the Baul songs, the Mymensingh ballads, the songs of the Bhats or Kathaks, the Agamani songs, and the story of Behula. In 1965 Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay of Calcutta published a book entitled, *Profiles of Tribal Culture in Bihar* by Dr. Sachchidanand (now Director, A.

N. Sinha Institute, Patna). It is an authoritative publication regarding the culture of the tribal people in Bihar.

In 1969 on the merit of the thesis, entitled 'English in India', Shri Surendra Prasad Sinha got Ph. D. Degree of the Bhagalpur University. In this thesis the candidate has presented a historical survey regarding the study of English in India. It contains seven chapters besides Introduction, Appendices and Bibliography.

In chapter I the candidate has traced the beginnings of the study of European languages in India. The author should have selected the year 1757 or the year 1765 as a landmark in the history of India instead of the year 1760. The title of Chapter II is 'The Triumphant March of the English language, 1760-1833.' In respect of introduction of English education in India, 1835 would have been an appropriate date. In Chapter III he has reviewed the growing process in the study of English language in India from 1835-1853, under Government patronage. In Chapter IV the candidate has studied the reaction of the people to the study of English language in the period from 1854 to 1917 with special reference to the Hunter Commission, policy of Lord Curzon and the Indian Universities Act of 1904. His statement that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report "recommended increasing association of India in every branch of administration etc." is not correct. This observation was made in the Declaration of 20th August, 1917. In Chapter V we get an interesting account about the 'Reaction of the people in the background of national struggle for freedom, 1918-1946.' In Chapters VI & VII the candidate has expressed his views about the 'Merits and Demerits of the English Language and the problem of its continuance, in post-independent India, 1947-1968' by taking into consideration the views of some eminent personalities in this respect.

In 1964 on the merit of the thesis, entitled 'The British Impact on the Social and Religious Life of India in the Nineteenth Century', Shri Harish Chandra Varma secured Ph. D. Degree of the Gorakhpur University.

In this thesis the candidate has given a review of the salient features of social life and the main trends of the religious

reformation movements in India during the nineteenth century, with special reference to the British impact on them.

In Chapter I the candidate has surveyed the condition of India at the turn of the nineteenth century. In Chapter II he has discussed the role of Christian Missions and Missionaries in India and after noting the effects of Christianity in India has pointed out that "Christian Missionaries failed to make conversions on any large scale...." In Chapter III the candidate has examined the influence of English education on Indian social life. He significantly notes that "English education set in an active process of mental fermentation" and has also drawn our attention to a number of defects of English education. In Chapter IV he has discussed the part played by the British Government in influencing the social and religious life of India from the time of Warren Hastings till the end of the nineteenth century. In Chapter V he has elucidated the extent of influence exercised by Christianity on the Brahmo Samaj on three main heads, viz., theology, ethics and worship. The reaction of Christianity on other religious movements in India has been discussed in the next Chapter. In Chapter VII the candidate has studied the Indian approach to Social Reforms and in Chapters VIII and IX he has examined the western impact on Indian society.

Some time back I read a Ph. D. thesis of the Calcutta University, entitled 'Main trends of Indian Culture from 1772 to 1856'.

The thesis is an attempt to fill in gaps in the cultural history of India under the rule of the East India Company. It can perhaps be claimed that for the first time, the cultural history of the period from 1772 to 1856 has been studied in a consecutive manner in this thesis.

The thesis deals, for the first time, in a coherent manner with the social history of the period and attempts a balanced and panoramic review of the various classes and forces that moulded this history. The disintegration of medieval society in all its ramifications has been analysed and the rise of the new intelligentsia, the cross currents affecting urban and rural

life during the period and the social reforms carried out by official and non-official agencies have been studied as an evolving pattern heralding a new dawn.

New facts have been unearthed and given as for example the "ghaut murders", the "koorh" and the "Dhurna" and for the first time, again, the ambivalence of the new middle classes arising out of the contacts between the Old Order and the New has been vividly described. Hindu-Muslim relations, during the period, have been treated in detail and their significance pointed out from a fresh view point.

The whole social picture has thus been vividly portrayed and justice has been done to all social reformers, whether native or foreigners, the latter seeking a sort of partnership with the new Indian intellectuals.

In the Chapter on educational developments facts have been cited, for the first time, to rehabilitate Charles Grant as the real founder of Western Education in India in place of Macaulay as commonly held. In contrast with the prevailing opinion it has been shown that the decision of 1835 to have English as the medium of instruction, was a culmination of tendencies already operating and not a new decision coming like a bolt from the blue.

Again, for the first time, the role of the Hindu College as the harbinger of a Renaissance cum Reformation has been brought out. The valuable contribution of the missionaries in the educational sphere has been emphasized—an emphasis so far lacking in the current assessments of their role in India. Similarly the benevolent intentions of men like Elphinstone, Munro and Metcalfe and a host of other Englishmen during this period, have been brought out with the help of old records and Parliamentary proceedings. It has been clarified that the rulers were not apathetic to the claims of the vernaculars and many Englishmen were more sympathetic towards the advancement of Indian languages than some of the contemporary Indian leaders themselves. Also, for the first time, the Theory of Downward Filtration has been discussed in an unbiased manner in the light of contemporary facts.

In the Chapter on Religious Developments, the crosscurrents

of reformation, have been discussed in the light of contemporary records and a fuller account than hitherto has been rendered of the movement known as Wahabism.

For the first time dangers threatening Indian religions have been vividly described by recourse to old records, specifically Parliamentary proceedings and contemporary historical trends in Britain and India, have been correlated for the purpose.

Again the role of the Company vis-a-vis Indian religions has been fully described and original facts have been brought out to show that the state in India was dissociated from religion unlike many other Imperialist Governments.

A fresh analysis has been made of the socio-religious causes of the Great Revolt of 1857 in so far as they were pertinent to the thesis.

In the Chapter on Literature an attempt has been made, for the first time, by delving into old and contemporary literatures specially Hindi and Urdu, to show that a national language in India was being evolved, which may be called Hindustani in Gandhiji's words, as a result of the conscious efforts of Hindus and Muslims both, but the development was arrested as a result of the actions of both the English and the Indians in the period under review.

Again the study of the main Indian regional literatures has been attempted on the basis of various sources, contemporary and modern, and it has been shown that all of them were being influenced by common forces with Bengali in the lead due to its closest contact with English.

Lastly the study of the Fine Arts as they fared during the period under review in the thesis has been attempted based upon contemporary evidence. The decay of architecture, the growth of the Indian Theatre, the origin of the Patna School of painting and the ossification of Indian Music and Dance have been studied in detail with the help of contemporary sources. The intercourse between Indian and European artists, specially in the fields of painting and drama, has been for the first time, fully brought out in one place.

While, analysing the various development in the fields of Society, Education, Religion, Literature and Arts, the

viewpoint maintained aims at a synthesis of the new forces at work, on the basis of an analysis of the actual facts. The whole research has a unity and a running theme, namely, the emergence of a secular, humanistic culture in India, with the period under review constituting the 'seeding' period.

In 1969, a thesis, entitled "The Growth of Humanitarianism in India, 1860-1914", submitted by Shri Rajendra Singh Vatsa secured for him the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of the University of Delhi. In this thesis the candidate presents a detailed account of the growth of humanitarianism in India between 1860 and 1914, that is, from after the suppression of the Revolt of 1857-59 till the outbreak of World War I. "The period has been chosen", he writes, "primarily because during the years it covers there took place a tangible progress in the dissemination of the spirit of humanitarianism, and because there came into existence a number of institutions that served to promote the welfare of the down-trodden and the suffering people in India". The candidate deals with this important subject in a comprehensive manner in eleven chapters. In Chapter I he has tried to explain the concept of humanitarianism and its relevance to the history of Modern India. In Chapter II he has traced the background of the long tradition of indigenous humanitarianism in India and the influence of western humanitarian forces on it before 1860, through various agencies, such as the evangelical work of the Christian Missionaries, role of the British Government, particularly of its subordinate officers and the judiciary, western education, Indian reform movements, and some secular organisations. "Thus the foundations of the humanitarian movement", the candidate holds, "had been laid by 1860, and its growth took place during the post-1860 period. The reason for this growth was that agencies which emerged during the pre-1860 period, grew in size during the post-1860 period".

The progress of the forces of humanitarianism in the post-1860 period has been reviewed by the candidate in the succeeding chapters. In Chapters III and IV he has discussed it with reference to the Indian religious movements, viz., the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the

Theosophical Society, and the Ramakrishna Mission. Much of what is narrated in these chapters was already well known, but the candidate has carefully interpreted the effects of the religious movements in all spheres of life and their contributions in promoting human welfare. Influence of humanitarianism on the Parsis and the Sikhs has also been pointed out by him.

In Chapter V we get ample details regarding the efforts made during this period to save human life from destruction by some inhuman practices like infanticide and hook-swinging. Chapter VI ascertains a description of the measures introduced during this period to ameliorate the condition of the widows and to raise the age of consent for marriage of girls. The attempts made to alleviate the sufferings of the physically disabled persons like the lepers, the deaf-mutes and the blind have been studied in Chapter VII. In Chapter VIII the candidate has discussed the factors which contributed to improve the condition of the so-called Depressed Classes. The relief measures during the famines and the steps taken to improve the lot of the factory workers have been mentioned in Chapters IX and X, respectively.

In September 1970 the People's Publishing House Private Limited, New Delhi, published a volume entitled "Bengal Renaissance and other Essays." It contains some pieces of writing of one of the most distinguished scholars of our country, Professor Susobhan Sarkar, who inspired generations of students by his profound knowledge and noble character. In Part I of the book he has written relevant notes on the Bengal Renaissance. In Part II of it the author deals with certain Indian topics, viz. (1) Religious Thought of Rammohun Roy, (2) Economic Thought of Rammohun Roy, (3) David Hare (1775-1842), (4) Derozio and Young Bengal, (5) Views on 1857, (6) Progress and Rabindranath Tagore, (7) Rabindranath Tagore and the Renaissance in Bengal, (8) Autobiography of an Unknown Indian, (9) The Vernacular Medium in Higher Instruction

and Our Language Problem, (10) Kuruvilla Zachariah who was also one of my most renowned teachers in the Calcutta University. In Part III we get the author's (1) Conceptions of History and his opinions about it, (2) Marc Bloch (1896-1944), (3) Arnold Toynbee's World, (4) Mysticism in the history of science and "Past and Present".

In 1972 the K. P. Jaysawal Research Institute, Patna, published a volume on '*Beginning of Modern Education in Mithila*' by Dr. Jata Shankar Jha, one of its Research Fellows. This is, as the then Director of the Institute, Dr. A. L. Thakur, observed, "will be a welcome addition to the existing literature on the subject." Some valuable works on social life and culture, written during the recent years are : 1) *Unabinsa Satabdir Bangla*, 2) *Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century* by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, 3) *The Indian Awakening and Bengal* by Dr. Nemai Sadhan Bose (first published in 1960), 4) *Reform and Regeneration in Bengal (1774-1823)* by Dr. Amitabha Mukherjee (first published in 1968), 5) *Unabinsa Sataker Samaj O Sanskriti* (in Bengali) by Amitabha Mukhopadhyay, published in 1971, 6) *Samayikpatre Banglar Samaj Chitra* by Dr. Benoy Ghosh (publication started in 1962. The fifth volume of this series entitled *Banglar Samajik Itihaser Dhara* published in November 1968), 7) Shri Aravindo Guha compiled *Unpublished letters of Vidyasagar* from different sources in 1971, particularly the Sanskrit College Library and the State Archive of the Government of West Bengal, 8) a volume on Raja Rammohun Roy as late Dr. Biman Behari Majumdar lectures delivered by our reverend historian Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1972, 9) *Women's Education in Eastern India* by Jogesh Chandra Bagal with a Foreword by Dr. Jadunath Sarkar (published in 1956 by the World Press, Calcutta), 10) *Educational Philosophy of Swami Vivekananda* by T. S. Avinashilingam (Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, Coimbatore, second edition, 1971), 11) *Profile of Tribal Culture in Bihar* by Dr. Sachchidananda (published in 1965), 12) *Bengal: Past and Present* for July-December,

(published in 1976), has published an article on 'The Cuchi Behar Marriage : British Interests and Brahmo Integrity'. The writer elucidated the part played by the then British in the Cuchi Behar marriage publicly announced on 9 February, 1878 and the idea of Keshub Sen and some other leaders of the Brahmo Samaj regarding it.

For the thesis, entitled 'History of Libraries and Librarianship in India since 1850', Shri Jogesh Mishra got Ph. D. Degree of the Ranchi University in 1973. In this thesis the candidate has presented a detailed account of libraries and library administration in India since 1850. It contains nine chapters including an Introduction and a Conclusion. In the Introduction the candidate has indicated the scope of the contents of the other chapters and has rightly observed that a "systematic history of libraries is an essential chapter in the history of the intellectual development of a country". Chapter II is a short background review of libraries in India during the ancient period with an account of the great centres of learning which flourished since the 5th century and to which the libraries were attached. The candidate has also discussed the growth of the imperial libraries during the Mughal period and the libraries which were maintained by the Mughal ladies of repute. In tracing the genesis of the modern library movements he has pointed out that the year 1808 "was a landmark in the history of library movement" and has mentioned some of the important libraries which were established in India including the Khudabaksh Oriental Public Library at Patna. In Chapter III the candidate has described the history of the Library Development in India from 1850 to 1900 and has remarked that the "era of transformation of libraries began towards the middle of the 19th century". We get here accounts of the Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library, the India Office Library, the Indore Central Library, some libraries in Bombay and Gujarat, libraries in the Uttar Pradesh, the National Library in Calcutta (the old Imperial Library), the Connemara Public Library, Madras, the Adyar Library. Chapter IV is a

history of library development in India during the twentieth century from 1900 to 1950, and Chapter V is a history of library development from 1950 to 1970. In Chapters VI and VII detailed accounts of Libraries' Acts have been given. The candidate has also studied the conditions of the libraries during the periods of the Four Plans, and has indicated the contributions of the University Grants Commission towards the improvement of the libraries at different Universities. In the VIIIth Chapter the candidate has discussed important matters like training and education of librarians.

In 1977 the thesis, entitled 'Caste System and Caste Structure in Bengal in the Nineteenth Century', earned for Shri Prabir Kumar Chowdhury the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Calcutta. In this thesis the candidate has made a detailed study of caste system and caste structure in Bengal in the nineteenth century. It contains six Chapters, some Appendices, a Bibliography and a few illustrations. Chapter one is a historical background regarding the origin and early history of castes in India. He has pointed out that "if we look into the caste-history of Bengal, we find that Aryan caste-division was not deeply rooted in the region. Though there was necessarily some degree of Aryanism, the caste system of Bengal differed in many details from that of the rest of India." In Chapter two he has described distribution of castes in the nineteenth century at different places in Bengal with numerical strength of each on the basis of Census Reports of the period. "The number of castes", he writes, "which have been found to exist from various records in the nineteenth century exceeded one thousand and if their sub-divisions are taken into account, they would amount to many thousands." In Chapter three the candidate has noted the effects of the impact of western thought on the caste system. "This impact was", he observes, "a result of the Bengalees coming in contact with the English which profoundly influenced their views on caste system. This influence was chiefly exerted indirectly through various channels such as the propagandizing of the Christian missionaries and large scale conversion of the lower caste Hindus, in introduction of English education,

uniform laws and lastly the various enactments towards the second half of the nineteenth century.” Restrictions on food, drink and seavoyage were very much removed, but restrictions on inter-caste marriage and untouchability were scarcely touched “even in the later 19th century.”

In Chapter four the candidate has studied administrative measures and policy of the British Government in relation to caste. They proceeded with a good deal of caution in matters of social changes at least till 1833 so that building up of the British dominion in India, which was their main cause, was not hampered. He has noted that “the British Government’s keenness to get the support and allegiance of all Indians for the preservation of their empire was the corner-stone of their policy towards the caste system.”

In Chapter five we get an interesting discussion of the attitude and influence of the new intelligentia on caste system from the days of Raja Rammohan Roy. The views of Rammohan regarding the evils of the caste system have been carefully analysed. “Rammohan opposed casteism”, remarks the candidate, “and its connected prejudices and vices but not caste” and so he “did not personally violate caste rites.” The radical views of ‘Young Bengal’ have been critically amplified in section B of Chapter V. In section C of this Chapter the different shades of opinion on caste of the members of the Tattwabodhini Sabha, which had as its members some illustrious personalities like Debendranath Tagore, Akshay Kumar Datta—(who were Brahmos and non-Brahmos), Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Kishori Chand Mitra and Ishwar Chandra Gupta have been considered. “The individual members of the Tattwabodhini Sabha approached the caste problem from their respective views. But they were common in one. All of them bitterly criticised and attacked the prevalent casteism which to them had been a source of great unhappiness and misery for the Hindu Society as a whole. This they denounced and hated.”

In Section D of Chapter V attitude of the Brahmo radicals like Keshub, Sivanath Shastri, Ananda Mohan Basu, Shive Chandra Dev and some others towards caste has been exhaustively reviewed and the Native Marriage Act of 1872

has been critically discussed. In Section E of this Chapter the attitudes of the leaders of the Neo-Hindu movement like Bhudev, Bankim and Swami Vivekananda have been carefully discussed. To Vivekananda "castehood was a matter of quality, not of birth". Vivekananda did not "favour abolition of caste, but merely of privilege connected with casteism". Ideas of Neo-Hindu thinkers like Bhoodev, Pandit Sasadhar Tarkachuramani, Krishna Prasanna Sen, and some others have also been considered. In concluding an estimate of the work of the Neo-Hindus, the candidate significantly observes : "Having only the common bond of general opposition, the Neo-Hindus were sharply divided among themselves, and as a consequence put forth different interpretations of the efficacy of Hindu social institutions. But they were unanimous in proclaiming the superiority of the Hindu caste system against the West-imbibed capitalist democratic class-distinctions and thus they indirectly contributed a considerable amount of self-respect and national consciousness which must ultimately be reckoned in the broader context of the emancipation of India from the yoke of foreign domination, political and social".

Chapter six is a study of modern trend and general Indian opinion on caste. He has shown how rigidity of the caste system was challenged by some sub-castes, who started sabhas, societies etc. "But the caste system", the candidate observes, "nevertheless underwent remarkable changes and the subsequent history of Bengal, political, economic and social, amply testifies to the changed outlook of the people regarding caste. The most important change took place in the field of caste occupation and was noticeable even in the last quarter of the 19th century". Some famous writers and political leaders condemned casteism. As the candidate has noted, after "Independence, political support for the anti-caste campaign has taken on a different meaning altogether. Now the constitution of the Republic of India is the greatest champion of the lower caste and the Government has not merely refused to take cognizance of caste, it has enacted positive laws which strike at the root of caste-privileges or caste-deprivations". But in spite of diverse attacks against casteism, it does not mean "that

Bengali society or other regional communities have rejected caste".

Firma KLM Private Limited, Calcutta recently published a valuable book on Caste System written by Dr. J. Sarma styled "Caste Dynamics among the Bengali Hindus", which contains seven chapters inclusive of a chapter on Introduction. In this book the developments of changes in a Caste society are seen in their historical perspective. "In eastern India," the writer opines in Chapter I, "Caste as a system has been known to have many flexible qualities and has been more susceptible to change than it has been in other parts of India."

Chapter II gives the historical perspective in the early Hindu times, in the times after Hindu Rule and in the British Census in India. "How Caste has been defined" has been discussed in detail in Chapter III. Chapter IV discusses the segmental structure of caste in Bengal and analyses the structure according to the circle of common myths, common names, circles of community and endogamy. The system of caste hierarchy, an analysis thereof, and factors responsible for caste ranking as revealed from Case studies have been detailed and discussed in Chapter V, whereas Chapter VI discusses the influence of city life in Castes and social Customs. In Chapter VII the author draws some valuable conclusions from the discussions made in the previous Chapters.

In 1977 Professor Kedarnath Mukherjee got Ph.D. Degree of the Ranchi University on the merit of his thesis entitled 'Political Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore'. In this thesis the candidate has made a detailed study of Rabindranath's philosophy and ideas relating to the varied aspects of Indian nationalism, history, society and culture. It contains eight Chapters, Conclusion and a Bibliography.

In Chapter I we get a careful discussion of Rabindranath as a philosopher and his participation in Hindu Mela, a patriotic organization even when he was a boy of 13 years and 9 months. In Chapter II, the candidate has pointed out the various influences on Rabindranath, like Rammohan's ideas, Bankimchandra's writings, contemporary National Movement, Western civilization especially English literature, the teachings

of the Vedas, the Upanishads, Buddhism, Vaisnavism, Kabir, Nanak, and the Baul cult of Bengal. In Chapter III, he has discussed Tagore's interpretation and vision of the history of India. The candidate has noted that in "his interpretation of the History of India, Tagore pointed out that genius of India's civilization lies in the fact that it sought to bring unity in diversity". He has mentioned some propositions to illustrate the whole thesis of Tagore's analysis of the history of India. In Chapter IV, the candidate has discussed Tagore's concepts of State, Society and Government. Tagore's political philosophy, observes the candidate significantly, "was not made to order. His political ideas stemmed like everything else from his love of humanity, his concept of unity and truth, his belief in the power of soul, his emphasis on social effort add initiative as distinct from the external stimulus of the State machinery and his firm insistence on national self-confidence and self-respect". Ten propositions about Tagore's anti-State attitude have been mentioned by the candidate. He expresses the view that "Tagore in his zeal to give importance to society, and individual, forget the indispensability of the State in the present complex social life". Tagore did not support Fascism or Nazism though he visited the countries where these flourished. The poet "wrote his 'Kalantar' in the background of political conditions and cataclysm of the period condemning Fascism and Nazism as a menace to the world". Tagore "vehemently criticized dictatorial regime under the Fascists and the Nazis, but he did not criticize the Communist Dictatorship of the Soviet Union in the same light" though he had noticed some of its defects. The candidate has analysed the reason for this. Tagore put emphasis on education of the right type for all-round development of the mass and State. The candidate has explained Tagore's concept of democracy and has "vehemently criticised the attitude of the Britishers towards the Indians and the mode of electing the additional members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General". "Tagore believed", as the candidate notes rightly, "that for the progress and prosperity, unity and integrity of the people, all eyes should be turned towards the villages for

reconstruction". He has discussed Tagore's programme of village reconstruction and village administration. He has also drawn a comparison between the ideas of Tagore and Karl Marx. Tagore "did not subscribe to the views of Marx that history can be interpreted in economic or material terms". Tagore emphasised idealism over materialism which is well-expressed in his 'Creative Unity'. As it has been observed by the candidate, the "basic difference between the two philosophers lies in the fact that whereas Marx's philosophy revolves round political aspect of man, Tagore's philosophy revolves round constructive humanism and corporate social consciousness". The candidate has also drawn a comparison between Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi in many respects pointing out even their differences. In Chapter VII the candidate has discussed Tagore's ideas on Hindu-Muslim problems and their solutions. In Chapter VIII we get a critical estimate of Tagore's views on British administration in India and its effects on this country. The conclusion is a resume of what has been narrated in the preceding chapters.

A book on 'Political Philosophy of Rabindranath' by Sachin Sen was published in 1929 and another edition of it came out in 1947. But this thesis presented by Prof. Kedar Nath Mukherjee is a much more learned and comprehensive work, based on critical and exhaustive study of Tagore's original works of all categories and also the numerous writings about him that have appeared for many years.

'Calendar of Persian Correspondence 1794-1795', Vol. XI, edited by A. I. Trimizi, was published by the National Archives of India. It contains some significant details.

In a London University Doctorate thesis, on "*The Christian Missionaries in Bengal, 1793-1833*", Prof. K. P. Sen Gupta has reviewed the various works of Christian Missionaries in Bengal in this period. It was published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay in 1971.

In 1972 the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, brought out the work entitled 'Renaissance Bengal 1817-1857,' which contains proceedings of a seminar organised by it.

'Slavery in British Dominion' by Dwarkanath Ganguli

which is a collection of thirteen essays contributed by the author in the columns of the *Bengalee* between September 1886 and April 1887. It has been compiled by Shri K. L. Chattopadhyay and edited by S. K. Kundu, Jijnasa, Calcutta, 1972.

An account of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's official career has been prepared by Dr. N. K. Sinha and published in *Bengal : Past and Present*, July-December, 1971.

